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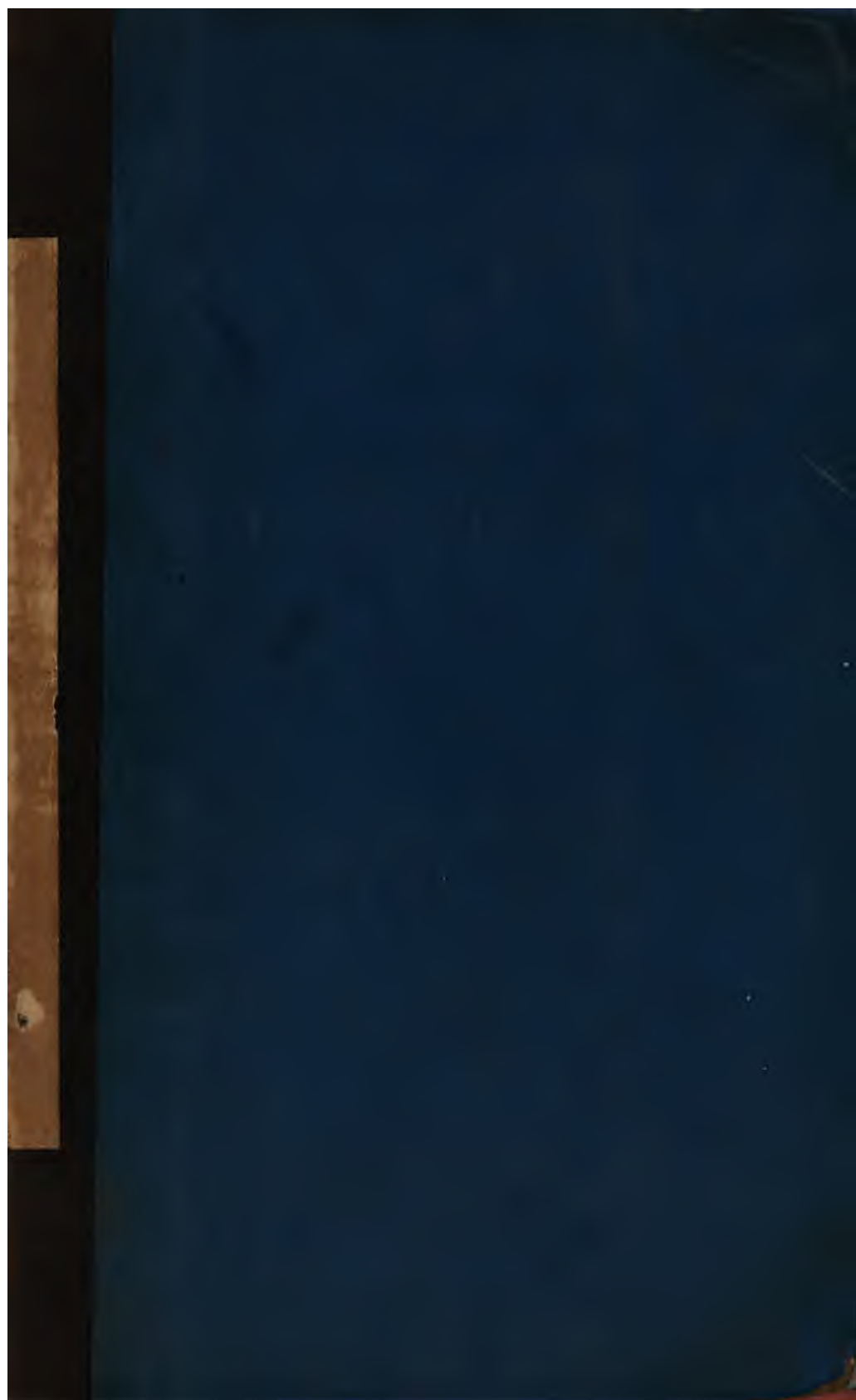
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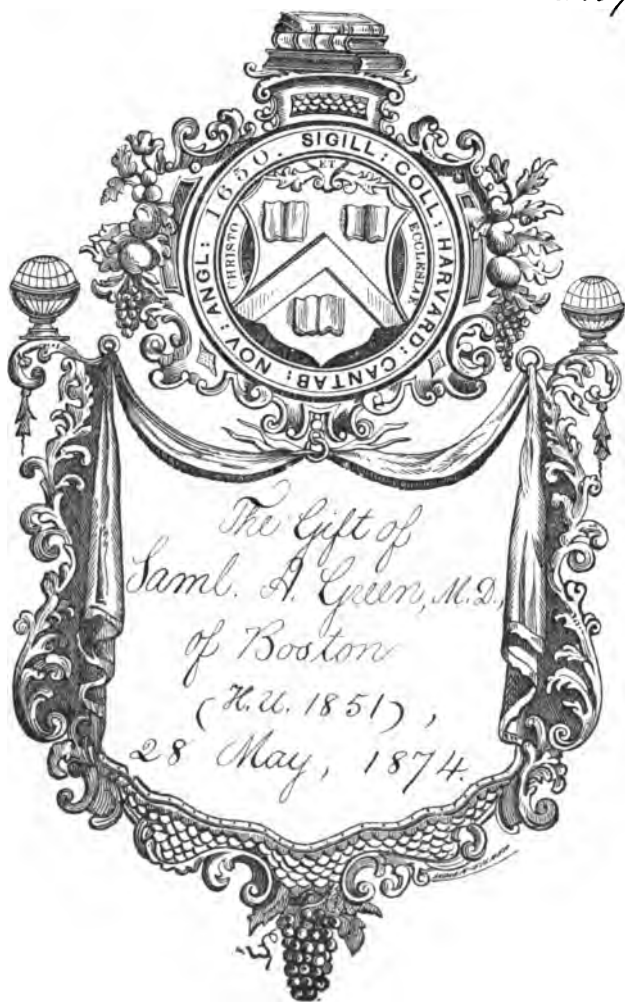
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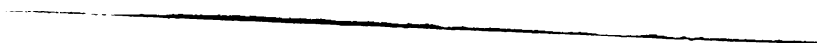


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Cassimati, S. J.

THE
G R E E K S
AND THEIR
DETRACTORS.

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P R E F A C E .

IN consigning the following pages to the press, the author feels he must apologize for having treated of subjects which are ill-treated in a book less voluminous than a treatise. But a whole book about *the Greeks and their Detractors* is more than he, as a visitor to this country, and a handler of a foreign language, could write, and far more than English statesmen or Encyclopædians could peruse. And yet, a pamphlet purporting to refute imputations characterizing the Greeks as depraved and anarchical, and assertions denying them a nationality—and, therefore, embracing the much mooted themes of Ethnology, and Ethnography, and balance of both international and political power—such a pamphlet, addressed as it is to English readers, against English denunciators, would, if confined to the mere statement of facts, amount to a bare and unauthoritative denial, made against assertions, grounded on either an acknowledged authority, or *false* but still *existing* appearances, supporting our detractors, and militating against us.

The necessity of writing a refutation and not a simple denial, and yet condensing it into a small volume, creates a difficulty which none but highly dexterous hands can overcome with justice to the cause of Greece. The absence of those hands, however, must not dispose the gentle reader unfavourably to a cause, which is far more just than it seems to be at the hands of the author of these pages.

S. J. CASSIMATI.

*7, Prince's Street, Hanover Square,
London, Nov. 18th, 1867.*

THE
GREEKS
AND THEIR
DETRACTORS.

THE subject, which some of the organs of the London press, as well as some of the higher officials of the state, and anonymous pamphleteers, have been, both a little before and after the Cretan insurrection, treating as a favourite one, is that regarding the misgovernment of Greece and the depravity of the Greek nation.

To him, who either intently or even cursorily peruses what has been written and spoken on that subject, Greece must appear a haunt of criminals and crime, not differing much from those so vividly depicted by Lord Lytton, as existing in this metropolis and concealing inmates, who, deriving, as they do, their livelihood from rapacity alone, cheer the successful of their comrades and browbeat and upbraid the unsuccessful. Not long since, our present detractors could not find words glowing enough to eulogize our virtue; now, the bitterest vituperation seems to them blunted of all acrimony when darted against a Greek. The least that can be said of us is, that we have the virtue of loving our country, but that our love is "often exaggerated to the bounds of absurdity," and ultimately eclipsed by our having the faults of a Levantine race, and by our not having paid our debts.

To this treatment the Greek, now groaning and now fretting, asks himself whether such accusers and defenders of the Greek name are the compatriots of the Guildfords, the Byrons, the Hastings, the Hamiltons, the Codringtons, and their associates in the same cause, who, Royalty likewise most graciously assenting, aided us to break the shackles of bondage, and once more become an independent nation; and the result of his inquiry is, that they are the compatriots of the Castlereaghs, the Strangfords, the Maitlands, and the Campbells, whose policy was solemnly disavowed by the English nation, which, through the instrumentality

of the Aberdeens and the Cannings, proclaimed to the whole world that Greece is an object not only of philanthropy and sympathy on the part of the European Powers, but also of elevation to exclusive sovereignty over the Archipelago, which its possessor could not and must not hold; to which none but the Greek has a right; and which, added to one of the three great continental races—the Latin, or the Germanic, or the Sclavonic—would bring the whole of Europe to fierce strife and contest, to which nothing short of Russian preponderance could put an end, and which would ultimately destroy that equipoise from which the other nations derive an unqualified equality and liberty of action.

Those were days replete with happiness for the Greek.

Dismal and waste though his home had been reduced by the sword and the firebrand of his oppressor, he, the unclothed, and uncanopied but by the vault of heaven or of some grotto, felt enraptured with joy, for he had quaffed the brimful cup of exhilarating Hope, tendered to him by a friend, the mightiest on earth, who, by fully recognizing the holiness and wholesomeness of his cause, encouraged him to believe that his future would be unfadingly roseate.

Now, although the former desolation of his soil has been dispelled by his industrious hand, and a luxuriant vegetation, mostly of noble trees and shrubs, has mastered the plains, and slopes, and dales, and is rapidly climbing up the hills; although the lofty vault of purely azure heaven is no longer his only roof, he having crowned his shores and plains with clean and regular cities and villages, and studded his groves and fields with spacious and comfortable villas, hamlets, and cottages; although he has strewn that land with millions of cattle in the widest sense, supplying him with exquisite food, which only the aromatic pastures of Olenos and Parnassus can yield to flocks migrant from dale to plain, and from plain to hill, and to the summit of mountains; although he is daily enhancing the gladness of the "glad waters of his dark blue sea," by decorating them with thousands of ships of every size and kind, which, after having busily and dexterously ploughed far and wide on the deep, glide glibly homewards with a plenteous harvest; although hives of industry are daily settling in that land, and already meet some of his own and of his neighbours' wants; although he rejoices in perceiving that each day finds him better than yesterday, which permits him to hope that the morrow will find him better than to-day—such are the fruits of the indefatigable exertions of his learned professors and teachers, and the Christian aid granted by a venerable and enlightened clergy, and of the thousand and hundreds of schools, and of the many seminaries and colleges, and of the one university, from which every

species of education available for both sexes, and sacerdotal instruction is copiously diffused; although for all this, under better circumstances, he would have been most happy, still now, under present circumstances he is not, nor can he be, not because the administration of government is defective—this he is scarcely to blame for, and it may be easily corrected, as will be forthwith shown; nor again, because he regrets to see himself surrounded by whole Greek provinces still groaning under the Ottoman yoke—their liberation is a question of time; but because his friend—that friend, who, late, but warmly, clasped his hand, and spoke words as encouraging as his ardent wishes could expect, and as kind as his best hopes could imagine—that very friend, listening now to the by-thoughts and by-purposes of a covetous member of his family, is to the Greek now cross, now cold, and now lukewarm, which is worse than cold and cross.

“What have I done,” he asks himself, “to cause this cruel change? Have I been ungrateful to my friend, or unwilling to fulfil the mission confided to me? Have I not told that friend, as early as could be, that, the ways of politics being mazy and perilous, he ought to induce one of the members of his royal family, under whom he lived so happy and prosperous, to accept the Greek throne? If I chose a Greek governor—and whom else but Count Capodistria—was it not my friend that advised me to do so? And when this governor, biassed by his love and gratitude to another friend of not an unqualified feeling, pursued a policy inconsonant to my expectations, and to those of my better friends, did not Greek hands, highly deserving of their country, and higher placed in Greece than Brutus stood in Rome, slay the man who was to Greece more than Cæsar to Rome? And when to the Bavarian prince the Greek throne was given to meet those expectations, but in lieu of that he sternly shunned self-government, did not the Greek army, obeying the nation’s voice, rise against that monarch? And, while the danger from that rising was still pending, and political shibboleths, then pregnant with meaning, propounded—one of them, the dethronement; another, the waiving of the insurrection by a mock constitution; and a third, the success of the insurrection in the sense of self-government—did not General Kallergi, although bound by promise, and urged by the indignant soldiery and people to adopt the first of these measures, did he not sheath his sword at Lord Lyons’ advice to aim only at self-government? And when, during the debates of the constitution, the friends of self-government discovered that their success was undermined through the machinations that were all the while being wrought out by royalty, and Kallergi, their interpreter, told Lord Lyons that self-government could not be attained under that monarch,

whose opinion was it that prevailed? And when the friends of self-government pursued the course suggested by that diplomatist, did they not foresee both the loss of power and the calamitous consequences of that loss, in which it were futile to comprise their adversaries' raileries and the sarcastic nickname by which they were designated for relinquishing power? Were they not certain that both the generous and Philhellenic suggestion of Lord Lyons, and their sacrifice, would have no effect on that monarch, for since the English people, when placed in the same predicament, could not succeed to force their sovereign to become constitutional, how could the Greek people succeed when the whole of the continent of Europe was a hotbed of motley but genuine despotism? And did they not raise every province to arms for the vindication of self-government, although they were well aware how unpopular such measures would prove, and how attended by mischief? And when the pheronymous policy of the diplomatist, on whose relics the earth by the Ilissus lies as light as on the best of friends, redeemed them from the perils accompanying those measures, did they not resume that vindication with means so popular, and efforts so zestful and strenuous, as would have infallibly been successful if the Crimean War had not offered despotism the opportunity of diverting the attention of the people from the internal question, and drawing it on the external, and of deceiving them that both circumstances and moment were propitious to resume the completion of the Great Idea? And when the steps taken by the Western Powers dissipated the insidious deception by which Greece had been driven to wage an untimely war, did not the leading men of all parties either oppose or discountenance the enterprise? Did they not gradually withhold their support from the dethroned and now deceased sovereign, and unrelentingly propagate the necessity of that dethronement? Was not all this wonderfully achieved merely because the whole nation had taken part in the achievement, and been wary against faults and deceptions, heedless now of the inconsistent demeanour of the officials of the British Legation, on one hand inculcating self-government, and on the other supporting the sovereign that strenuously and effectively opposed it? And after the achievement, when, for the third time, the people held the badge of sovereignty in their hands, did they not abruptly dismiss as factious, and prejudicial, and disagreeable, every other candidate for the Greek throne but Prince Alfred, whom both sentiment and feeling by acclamation chose and named sovereign, not of Greece alone, but of the whole nation? And when the unforeseen refusal afforded the silenced dissentients the opportunity of haranguing the nation to withhold all sympathies and trust towards the English, whom they characterized as too weak to resist the

jealousy of the other powers, and too Turcophile to be Philhellenic, who were the proselytes believing in such a dogma? Did not the bulk of the nation, satisfied with the cession of the Ionian Islands, and the good will shown by the English Government in endeavouring to render acceptable our request that the Danish prince should be our sovereign, did it not most unequivocally declare that the English were, after all, our best of European friends? Parties, it is true, contended, and fiercely too and foully, during the interregnum, for pre-eminence: but did not the nation imperatively enjoin them to pay homage to our King, the brother of the future Queen of England; and was not both his election and his accession to the throne accordingly celebrated with festivals amounting to a national jubilee? Did not the nation, moreover, enjoin that we must pursue such a line of policy as will meet with the approbation of the English nation? And did we not, indeed, implicitly adopt all principles suggested by the English? Tolerance in religion, a liberal education, a representative government, trial by jury, freedom of the press, meetings and associations, and free trade, are they not all admitted and practised in Greece? Why, then, should we be so ill-treated by those, whom we always looked upon as the best of our European friends?"

All this, and more than this, is daily repeated by every Greek, who is unconnected with politics and parties, and, therefore, is entitled to represent public opinion. And this is really the feeling that engrossed the nation's heart, notwithstanding the indiscretion shown by some of the organs of the English press, which, bestriding the high barrier that generally separates governments from peoples, indulged in responding to our feeling by visitations of a most unfriendly nature. Even these, however, were allowed to pass as venial slips, and the nation confidently relied on the friendship of the English nation, it being grounded not only on solemn promises and facts the most irrefragable, but also on reasons rendering those facts indestructible, even if they were not such.

The cogitation necessary to discover those reasons is easy, for facts are not very intricate, and may, therefore, be unravelled by every one.

After the decay of Greece and Rome, the Teutonic element, in its twofold aspect of Germanism and Low-Latinism, became the possessor of general sovereignty and the ruler of civilization.

Intestine feuds, both endless and fierce, created the stringent necessity of finding a safe abode wherein to shelter and develop the art of those races, and thence to diffuse it as far as their sovereignty could extend.

Albion—the insular, and unassuming, and scarcely renitent

—was soon found to be the safest land, in which a mixed language was gradually created, and the continental art better formulated and improved by the many and diverse immigrants, whom the arbitrary observer chose to designate as Anglo-Saxons, now holding and exercising the greatest sway that ever nation held on earth.

All the European wars of the middle and modern times, excepting those against the Saracens, the Turks, and the Slaves, are but intestine strifes aiming at internal and external supremacy and pre-eminence.

That the Anglo-Saxons are the victors, none but the ignorant and the prejudiced to a degree of fanaticism will deny. But, although their grasp is as powerful and as comprehensive as that of the Greeks and the Romans—although their taste evinces a much closer approach to the Attic than the Romans themselves ever effected—although by those two virtues they appear in the different walks of life both great and comely—yet they are not universal.

There is on the face of the earth another race—the Sclavonic—who, the Muscovites foremost, display equal powers of expansiveness and of absorption. That race, numbering already more than a hundred million souls strongly cohesive, only lack a central spot in the world to give their nation dimensions of so enormous a magnitude as would stifle the progress and repress the development of every other neighbouring nationality, and rise to pre-eminence in Europe, which, after the emancipation and development of the Anglo-Saxons, that are now the sovereigns of the American soil, is not, unfortunately for us Europeans, any longer the uncontested seat of Art and Civilization. That spot is now unlawfully possessed by a most exceptionable and withal impotent stranger. That spot lies on the threshold of the Muscovite dominions: it can, therefore, be easily incorporated by its powerful neighbour, if they, who are interested in its non-incorporation, do not oppose it. Oppose it they can, but only in one way—by enforcing Lord Aberdeen's and Mr. Canning's principles, by reinstating the Greek nation in its usurped dominions. Any other way would be a mistake fatal to all but the Muscovite, for the Greek alone is, both in title and, to a great extent, in fact also, the lord of that country, whose force and value flow almost wholly from its coast and seas, and on those, both, the Greek alone is called to dominate. Should it be decided that others must have the sovereign part of that dominion, and that to the Greek only the faggot or the menial is allotted, that decision would be equivalent to an installation of the Russians in the capital of the East; for if the Greek be condemned by the unjust or the covetous to undergo another scalp-

ing of his nationality, he will and can—unforgetful of a comparatively better treatment, and hand in hand then with the now inimical Bulgarian and Servian—do so much that none but the Muscovite will be the scalper, and such a one as will not fail to scalp more heads besides the Greek.

Nor can we consent to, much less co-operate in, the scheme of demolishing and reconstructing indefinitely the Turkish Empire.

That scheme was started, true, by the great statesman, whose death the Greeks, perhaps, more than his countrymen deplore, for it was he, who, faithful to the policy of raising us to the sovereignty of the East, undertook, with Themistoclean craft, to hasten the vanishing of every vestige of Ottoman sway and its supersession by the Greek, whom he so substantially furthered by the cession of the Ionian Islands, as a most eloquent and precious pledge of amity and identity of interests.

But that scheme, misunderstood by his inheritors, is assumed to have no further object than the apparent one, beyond which the real one seems to them as wild and chimerical as the rabble of Athens would characterize the preparation of a fleet to meet the once only vanquished Persians—a fleet which they gladly allowed to be built and manned against the *Æginites*. They, therefore, propose the demolition of the crumbling empire of the Turks, and its reconstruction with materials, old and new, most incongruous in shape and essence, and with a cement made up of elements so unaffined and incohesive as to render that reconstruction equally impossible and ridiculous as were the pedant's efforts to accustom his horse to live without eating.

This comparison is neither forced nor bold, for in both schemes ill-success, far from being harmless, lies side by side with the destruction of the object to be improved—a destruction which should not evade the sight of those who disown that category of men whom, for knowing mischief only after it is done, the great poet of antiquity calls *fools*.

Besides, the demolition of the Turkish Empire is totally useless, it being in ruins. To remove the rubbish, in order to obviate reconstruction, is the only task incumbent on parties interested, so long as time has not yet irrevocably fled. But to reconstruct that empire, as the inheritors of Lord Palmerston propose, is a piece of statesmanship that Russia would greet as a godsend, for that power no more thinks of invading Constantinople than we think of invading St. Petersburg. How could she, indeed? Are the Germans and the Latins dead? Only the anonymous pamphleteer fancies them almost inexistent. Russia, however, does not; she, therefore, proclaims she does not intend becoming aggressive, but she will

not allow any one to gain ground on European Turkey. What is the meaning of this, when appropriately and clearly paraphrased? That she intends becoming the mistress of Constantinople through the Slavonic tribes occupying the western part of the Turkish Empire, whom she protects from all harm and furthers that they may first obtain advantages over the other races, and then take possession of the capital from which Slavonic sovereignty will command obedience throughout the world.

If the policy, therefore, of reviving the Turkish Empire by extending the state sovereignty on both the Greeks and the Slaves (it is ridiculous to think of any other race) be enforced, what will be the consequence? That the very enemies of Russia will not only devour their creature Greece as Cronus did his children, but also will, by arming the Slavonic element, raise a Russian vanguard, which, if powerful enough to baffle the plan of erecting a bulwark against Russia, will enable this power to owe its bloodless enthronement to the stupendous engineering of English statesmanship; if not, however prominent the Greek may become according to the paper promises of the anonymous, those races cannot fail to become overwhelming as soon as Russia—the mother of that great member of the *model state*—will hasten to grant her aid.

Russia will, therefore, gladly give her consent to such a policy of non-intervention, but for the sake of enthroning all the Christians in Turkey; nay, more, she gladly withdraws her proposal of protecting the orthodox inhabitants, or Slaves, of those regions, for, far from acquiring thence any material advantage, they would have to own two allegiances—one to the Turk, and the other to the Russian—both, however, giving no sovereignty; whereas hence they will, as by magic, have the right and the might of protecting themselves and the Turks, to whom protection has been long ago as indispensable as crutches to the paralytic.

Such a policy, then, being absurd, and that of allowing any other great power to occupy Constantinople being equally impossible, for the Greeks will be the first to aid the Russians and the Slaves to oppose it; and that of supporting Turkey being equally impossible, the Turks being *dead*; and that of appointing English administrators to manage the estate of the deceased being infeasible, and injurious to the English nation; and that of allowing Russia, directly or indirectly, to acquire Constantinople being the most objectionable of all: no other imaginable policy remains to be adopted than that of reinstating the Greeks to the European part of their dominions, of neutralizing the Slavonic element that has intruded among Greeks, Dacians or

Roumouns, Germans and Magyars, and of circumscribing the Ottoman Empire within the Asiatic boundaries, and there, through the aid of the Greek and the Latin and the German elements, effect such an amalgamation as circumstances will permit.

There being, therefore, but one road which is not the road to ruin, the Greek, true to his mission, and fond of it, is ever on the look-out, and ever striving to realize it in as rational a manner as circumstances suggest.

From 1828 until 1854, never did the nation fancy to pursue any other course than that of internal development. Once or twice did the Cretans endeavour to obtain their independence, but so niggardly were they aided by us that failure was inevitable.

In 1854 the nation did really endeavour to widen somehow the area of the ill-bordered state, and subscriptions and contributions for arms and ammunition were liberally offered by the opulent at home and abroad; but could it abstain from acting then, when England and France themselves, by confining their operations to the cautious strategy of simply fortifying Kallipoli, betrayed an apprehension that the danger was imminent? Who among the Greeks could remain impassible to see that his territory was the contested object, and yet the contending parties were all but Greeks? To take up arms and partake in the contest as the legitimate owners of the disputed land was an impulse irresistible among the nation, and the more so inasmuch as its monarch and the Austrian and Bavarian Courts led us to believe that the Western Powers would not discountenance our rising. But when, in 1862, a little before his dethronement, that monarch, foreseeing the whirlwind that would upset his throne, resorted once more to the *great idea* in search of popularity, what was the nation's answer to that monarch's appeal? Was it not that we must first settle our accounts with our administrators, and first put the State into order?

So certain it is that, although true to our mission, we never lose sight of the necessity of fulfilling it seasonably and rightly, that when, on the day before the election of our King, an extra-parliamentary discussion took place, whether the election should be effected as soon as his acceptance should be made known by acclamation or otherwise, and the former was admitted, as well as the necessity of thanking the British Crown for the cession of the Ionian Islands, the ministers and deputies present, avoiding everything that might be unpalatable to the English statesmen, did not also admit the necessity of expressing a national vote soliciting the revision and correction of our frontiers, although the idea had been suggested by one whom they knew to be an

admirer of the English nation, and English politics, at home and abroad, as understood by Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Canning.

Nor was the Cretan insurrection the result of forethought and preorganization. But for the want of these, success would have been both certain and rapid.

The Cretan insurrection, which, without a decided hindrance on the part of our Government, would have extended far and wide, owns its origin to the last war of Italy against Austria. The Italian patriots imparted to the Greek one of their plans, which was to be executed near Albania, and invited them to profit by the opportunity, which would be to them tantamount to a co-operation. There was no time for lying supine and meditating: the scales, not of Fortune but of Reason, must be without delay consulted as to the course to be pursued, and the result of the conflict between the *pros* and *cons* ought to guide our steps. Slowly hastening, that Reason might not be troubled, we weighed and found the *pros* preponderant, for in the scales of *cons* we counted a dead enemy, whom his opulent creditors represent as old, but healthy, and spend money to keep up the fiction, and thus hold the management of his estate; our lack of preparation; the certain opposition on the part of Austria; and probably the latent opposition on the part of Russia: whereas, in the scale of *pros*, we found a robust, intelligent, and industrious antagonist with small incumbrances, which he is sorry his administrators have not extinguished, and with an incontestable title to inherit, encumbered as it is, what was unlawfully possessed by his enemy. We moreover found that we might implicitly rely on the support of both England and France; on that of the latter, through the Philhellenism of the high-minded and learned among the French, and through the patronage of the eminent man, who most worthily occupies the leadership among the Latin races, and who renders himself more eminent still by advocating and protecting the cause of nationalities; on that of the former, for it is England that has restored Greece to independence and sovereignty, and destined her to rise once more in the East, and by opposing Russia's aggressive tendencies, and fostering art, save the existing equilibrium from ruin and trouble, and contribute in the promotion and diffusion of civilization; it is England that aided Greece in finding a sovereign unconnected with nations ogling the Archipelago; it is England that gave us the Ionian Islands, the precursors of more provinces to be annexed; it is England, lastly, that will prevent the lavishing of the English treasure for the support of an unjust and impossible cause, which, relinquished, will be superseded by a just one, whose easy triumph promises full satisfaction to both the moral and material interests of England.

Under these circumstances, and ever under God, the unfortunate Cretans rose, and declared their determination to unite themselves to the mother country, or die in the attempt. To partake in that struggle was a duty sacred for every Greek, even if it were perilous, irksome, and useless. But who could imagine that the efforts of such patriots would be opposed and rendered nugatory, not by those from whom we apprehended an opposition—on the contrary, they have befriended us—but by our very friends and patrons? When, at the commencement of hostilities, the representatives of the Western Powers made known to us that, in case of conflict with Turkey, we should sustain the consequences, unprotected and unaided by them, declaring to remain perfectly neutral, we at first felt disappointed and sorry; but, upon mature reflection, we found we could dispense with both the protection and the aid of Governments; for, if the administrators of Turkey are opulent, and can force the inhabitants to pay £15,000,000 sterling yearly, we had millions out of those inhabitants that would resist the payment, and would ultimately throw it into our coffers; and we, moreover, had in our favour not only all that Greece and the Greeks can give to counteract the means of those administrators, but also the opulence of the civilized people, alaciously flowing, to eclipse that of individuals too covetous to run a long race with the cheerful liberality of the civilized nations; and, above all, we have ever had the best wishes of the just and honourable, who can bestow on our antagonists nothing but execrations and contempt. “Let hostilities, therefore,” exclaimed the whole nation as one man, “be carried *à l’outrance*, for ultimately even Governments must ply to the will of the peoples, and more especially of the English people, from whose bosom the government should emanate.” Can there be a mistake as to the will of the English people? To doubt about it would be to deny to this country a Church as liberally Christian as that of Greece has ever been; an education as elevated and instructive as Plato and Aristotle would suggest; a language more proximate to the Hellenic than any spoken in the world; a polity as self-governed as Theseus or even Menestheus could frame; a liberty of word and deed as unlimited but by what would be injurious to the physical or moral man as Demosthenes would wish; a taste as simple, yet comely, as Phidias and Apelles could fancy; avocations as useful, yet sportive, as Socrates would commend and the Olympic games would praise; and an attitude, in both peace and war, as manly and brave as the Spartans, and as strategical as the Athenians were of old.

Should there be a doubt, it ought to be dispelled, not by those whose motto is “Money honestly, else any how—at the

cost of all—of money itself," but by those whose virtue, and lore, and superior mind have entitled them, if not to lead, at least to guide the leaders of this country when the conflicting winds and the clashing waves render the state-ship misgovernable. The Duke of Argyll denies to the administrators of Turkey the right of avoiding international interference favouring humanity and civilization, and the balance of power among European nations; Mr. Goldwin Smith condemns the policy of supporting the enemy of Christianity, the destitute of family, and the patron of nameless vices, by the shedding of English blood and the squandering of the English treasures, and by alienating the sympathies of old friends—a policy which he designates as so sable a stigma imprinted on the forehead of high-minded England as none but a national administration can expunge; Mr. Ffoulkes denounces as atrocious the manner in which we have been treated, *and plain enough to damn all our wrongers' boasted civilization for ever, unless they bestir themselves without delay to make amends for the past*;^{*} and Mr. Freeman pours out all his indignation against those who advised the rising of England to greet and welcome the Grand Turk. Had the voice of such men—and they are very numerous, and have *no* dissentients in their classes—been hearkened to by those whose duty it is to listen to men that can tell useful truths, and, through wholesome advice, retrieve the loss sustained by the nation through unskilled and versatile hands, amends would have been soon and fully made.

Were, at least, the promise of perfect neutrality kept; but no, even that was broken. When the conflict raged most, and hundreds of Christians among those who once more exposed their breast against barbarity, had been by their enemy's sword and firebrand, and, the worst of all, by his polluting contact, driven to self-immolation, every civilized Government on earth but one evinced a sympathy for the martyrs of freedom and civilization. Nor is this all; the dissentient one, on whom we relied most, found means to allay the sympathies of the others, and thus to encourage the Crescent and dishearten the Cross; and, as even this was not sufficient to disarm the brave, plaudits, and men, and money have been once more lavished upon the Mussulman, and curses, and evil, and harm heaped upon the Greek; and, to render all this more galling, an explanation was withal given to those who raised a humane voice on behalf of the wronged, vilifying the Greek nation by means of both definite and indefinite imputations, of which the last are the bitterest, as alluding not only to political imperfections, but to moral and wilful vices also. —Here the Greek, after having with resignation submitted to all

* Christendom's Divisions, Part II., p. 587.

the incalculable sufferings that the policy alone of the mighty inflicted on him—here he must rise to disavow those imputations, for to brook them unrefuted would be to deserve being crushed under the weight of dishonour.

That the administration of the Greek state is neither absolutely nor relatively the right one, none can perceive better than we Greeks can. This is an avowal that few Greeks will deny, it being grounded on reality, which, however, the Greek is, as it has been said, the least and last to blame for. But, although the main feature of misgovernment is to render *virtue* subordinate to *vice*, no Greek can admit that the nation is corrupt without disregarding reality on one hand, and, on the other, admitting as true opinions now expounded, and now condemned by their very authors, who had been carried away by inconclusive appearances in uttering them, and had rid themselves of all bias in recanting them.

Nor is this a gratuitous denial of affirmations made by our detractors: facts of an incontestable nature may be adduced to lead the impartial observer safely to discover the truth by both intuitive and illative reasoning.

Corruption being, not a simple vice, but an aggregate of vices, must also be the effect of the same causes that pervade the minds of criminals, who, before proving guilty, must have been either naturally or habitually prone to idleness and pleasure, and destitute of fortune, which, at its cost, might save the dissolute from infamy, though not from ruin; or, although industrious and temperate, unprovided with the necessities of life from the un-bountifulness of the soil to which they adhere, the inclemency of the climate, and the absence of commerce, and industry—the inseparable associate thereof.

Fortunately, however, the Greek is free from all such faults and disadvantages.

The people, whose fathers of old were great, not only in ruling, but also in falling, they having decayed, not from depravity, but from intestine feud, brought about from their having opposed the law of the fusion of tribes into races, and of races into nations; who have preserved their national traditions, and language, and religion through despotism the most intolerant and cruel; who, as early as circumstances permitted, rose to vindicate their rights, avenge their wrongs, and perform the most arduous and dangerous of missions—that of forming a bulwark with their breasts, checking every invader; who, in fulfilling this task, once more roused the sympathies and admiration of the world to a degree vying with the feelings nourished only for their fathers; whose present attitude, but for a graft of mediæval despotism, would be that of a people as civilized as any upon earth;

who not only own upwards of fifty million *stremmata* (twelve million acres) of land, allowing forty acres to each family, but also grasp that land so powerfully and ably as to make it, in ten years, yield a revenue ten times greater than that obtained the year after our independence; who are the greatest shipowners in the world, there being more than 5000 ships, or one ship for every fifty families; and as great cattle-owners as any, there being six million head of cattle of every species, or twenty head for each family; who, by the confessedly vast progress of their compatriots abroad, prove what they might be at home, if properly guided and sincerely and effectively befriended; whose cohesion, as regards both family and race, induces parents to spend *all they have* for their children's education and settlement, relations to make up for all deficiencies, and patriots—those that live abroad being foremost in the example—to bequeath their fortunes for the foundation of instructive or philanthropic institutions, or for the promotion of national interests: such a people may not be called corrupt.

Nor do the Greeks lack frugality and thriftiness more than proportionate to their means.

Let us examine the different classes, and we shall find that all they that are not in contact with the foreigner of fashionable habits are prosperous.

There are in Greece three classes of people—viz., that of officials and men of science; that of employers of hands and great landowners; and that of labourers and minor landowners. Unfortunately, the officials are still paid as in 1833, when prices were at least fifty per cent. lower than they are now; and yet, although a minister's salary is £350 a year, and the archbishop's £250, and the bishop's £200, and the judge's and other chiefs of departments £100 to £250, and the magistrates of peace from £40 to £120, and although none but the clergy have any extra resources—all these, through their frugality, live on their pay without resorting to illicit means by which they might, if they were dishonest, obtain much more than the Government allows them. But as a general rule they are honest men.

It is, therefore, false that corruption has pervaded the ranks of all officials. Some of them, indeed, and more especially those encumbered by a large family, and unenlightened by a superior education, may be somewhat flexible to political exigencies; but venal they are certainly not, when compared to those of any other state.

The men of science, both from frugality and from the comparative abundance of their resources, are almost all more or less saving money and forming an extra income.

The class of people employing hands are, with very few

exceptions, increasing their fortunes, they being either great landowners, or tradesmen, or merchants and landowners, and many of them capitalists and shipowners also, cultivating all those branches of industry simultaneously, and with such an assiduity and steadiness as seldom fail to crown their honest efforts with success.

The labourers in every province of industry—who are also, with rare exceptions, owners of land—are worthy of every praise for their industrious habits, their endurance of any amount of toil, as well as for their frugality and their obedience to the laws. Rising sooner in summer than the bird that warns us of the break of day, and sooner in winter than the reveller leaves his banquet, they set to work so cheerfully that their labour is never shorter than half the length of the whole day and night, and not a whit slackened in the evening from the briskness it exhibited in the morning. After having worked three hours, they take bread and fruit or olives for breakfast, then they work again till mid-day, when they take bread and fruit or cheese, or olives, for luncheon; then they resume their labour until dusk, when, returning home, they take a cooked meal and a little wine, the cost of which, coupled with that of the breakfast and luncheon, never exceeds eightpence, and often is far under that sum—and yet each workman earns from two to seven shillings a day, which is far more than Government allows to all the lower and to some of the higher officials. Nor is the day's toil over with these wonderful beings, notwithstanding so much work. Either within doors or out of doors they will pursue the handling of their tools for some useful or lucrative purpose. A striking instance of the enduring and persevering nature of that class is the alacrity with which they, after enlisting in the national guard, mustered to drill after supper and a whole long day's toil.

This sight must certainly have escaped the attention of the anonymous pamphleteer, else he would have allowed that the Greek is a match—not for the Turk, who, with us, is but another name for everything brutal, stupid, lazy, and effete—but for *any one* in Europe.

Barring superior numbers and overbearing circumstances, the anonymous pamphleteer will find this statement confined within the boundaries of reality and fact, if he be kind enough to call to his memory the little encounters of the Greeks with the French, and Bavarian, and even English troops, in Greece and in the Ionian Islands—encounters which could not be effected but by the Albanian, who is certainly not a Turk; not by the Turk himself, who, for abandoning his post at Inkerman and Balooclavà, was browbeaten by the English soldier, and broom-beaten by the *vitandières* and regimental females; who, in every battle fought

during our great revolution, when he had still a glimpse of life, and when the Greek was struggling with his fetters on, if he could not oppressively outnumber his bondsmen, was no sooner seen than beaten; who, although possessed of a numberless armada, sooner sustained the nailing of his ears to the mast of his ship by his indignant master, or a spontaneous but suicidal stranding, than the encounter of Canari's frail skiff; and who, even while concealed on board the best ship that English skill could build (the *Izzidin*), and commanded by a renegade, and surrounded by English gunners, having with them all the improvements in arms and ammunition, would have been before his time hurled to an everlasting purgatory, with all his guests, whom Turcophilism alone, and not the English nation, despatched to aid the Crescent, had not more ships, larger, and equally manned and equipped, hindered the boarding of that ship.

The anonymous pamphleteer seems to have forgotten all this, and to have never seen the Greek volunteer and the Turkish soldier. Had he seen the former parting with home, and comforts, and parents, and kinsmen, and earnings, and with the maid of his heart, who most urged the parting, and, after wearing the mountain sandal, and the gaitered light breeches, and the belted jacket, and the Scotch cap, with the cross fixed upon the laurel, gird on his pistols and sword, grasp his shining carbine, and, swift and silent as a stag, and brave as a lion, move to join the giants of Sfakià; had he seen that warrior he would, unawares, call to his memory, not the slovenly, dowdyish, and unspirited appearance of the Turkish soldier, but that of the rifleman, or the Jäger, or the Zouave, or the Bersaglière for a comparison, from which the Greek volunteer would have no reason to blush, howsoever crescentic may be the prism through which objects reach the sight of our pamphleteer. Had he visited the interior of Greece he would, by witnessing the Cyclopean walls erected on both slopes and plains to prevent the effects of a torrent or even of rain, and to protect the trees, and plants, and fruit from the incursions of cattle even of the most roving and salient species; and the ditches dug to drain a marshy soil, or to fix the landmarks of an estate, he undoubtedly would avow that, considering how little profit the Greek has as yet derived from such toil, he is eminently industrious.

But it seems he only saw the *cafés* of the capital of Greece, and fancies, from the incessant influx and efflux of visitors, that the Greek's ultimate and most cherished delectation is the sweet idleness of those haunts. How little he knows, however, that even they, who seem loitering in those establishments, are there but to find a field whereon to display extraordinary powers of

industriousness and ingenuity. Had the Greek law regarding the *employés* been modelled on that of the United States of America, and of the Ionian Islands before their annexation to Greece; and were aspirants, therefore, certain that offices would be held, not *durante beneplacito*, but for four years at least: those *cafés* would be much less frequented than they are now, and would assume a totally different aspect.

If he had examined the Greek community with only common curiosity and interest, he would have perceived that such is, but with few exceptions, the honesty and truthfulness of the Greek people, that not only all transactions between hand-employers and workmen, but also all loans between capitalists and husbandmen, as well as all transactions among merchants, are effected by *parol* agreements, and faithfully executed, no matter how long after, provided they have been fulfilled punctually, and, strange to say, on a Sunday, that useful time may not be lost.

Had he visited Greece as a curious and truthful reporter, he would have seen our ports swarming with ships whenever a contrary and strong wind obstructed their progress; but among those ships none of the Greek craft would be found ready to start, for the ship that is ready to start must go to sea, and perform at least that voyage, while the foreigner is biding the unpropitious time to be over.

Had he been an eye-witness of our public instruction, he would feel sorry for having believed that education perverts the industrious tendencies of the youth, and imbues them with either pernicious or at least useless principles. Although the German system, which the German legislators transplanted into Greece, may be somehow defective for the preference it gives to the literary, historical, and descriptive branches over the physical and mathematical, still the moral sentiment and the industrious habits of the youth, as well as their devotion for their country, far from being perverted or placed in conflict with every social and political element, which is the operation of modern civilization, are enhanced and reconciled with the humblest station in life through the redounding wholesomeness of the maxims of the ancient authors.

Great scholars we could not, indeed, produce in so short a time; and yet the name of Dr. Assopius cannot be eclipsed by any one on earth, for even Mr. Valetta, well known even here for his elegance of style and method, calls him the master of those that know the Hellenic tongue. Nor can one safely maintain that there is any penury of learned men as regards the other branches of science, for, one step lower than that occupied by Dr. Assopius, a hundred may be found worthy of sitting side by side with men of a European renown.

If he had found himself in the least contact with our clergy, like Mr. Skinner, he would not be as ignorant of their virtue as he and the informant (certainly not Mr. Skinner) of one of the leading papers of this metropolis seem to be while accusing them of being overbearing and fanatical, and us of being priest-ridden and bigoted. If Mr. Skinner were the informant, he would say that the prelate to whom he was introduced by me at Syra—the Archbishop Alexander Lycurgus—is, not only a most enlightened, polite, and eloquent man, but also a true Christian, and one of the most eminent dignitaries that any Church can possess.

Mr. Skinner was present when a sermon was preached by that prelate to a thronged, yet most attentive congregation, to whom, by vivid images copied from life, it was explained to a degree of perfect edification that not only the atheist and the irreligious are unchristian, but also they who, professing to believe in Christ, manifest their profession either by intolerance and bigotry, or by fanaticism and proselytism, or by hypocrisy and false appearances; and that a Christian is he who sincerely believes the morality taught by our Saviour to be divine, and tolerantly towards every other creed, but resolutely, practises it for himself and for his neighbour, heedless of every obstacle or persecution, even though it amounted to another crucifixion.

No doubt that right reverend prelate is excelled by none in the Greek clergy, but there are not a few others that can boast of being excelled by none. And as to our clergy being ignorant, such an assertion might be true as an anachronism; now, however, it is not, for nearly two generations ago several seminaries were instituted for the education of our clergy, and their number has been considerably increased of late, there being a seminary in the capital of every district.

Dull of sight, and hearing, and mind must indeed be he, who flatters himself with being acquainted with Greece and the Greeks, and yet ignores that the question among us is, not how to make people work all but the Sundays and the great holidays of Christianity, but how to prevent them from working the greater part of the Sundays also. About forty times a year, besides the Sundays, most Greeks go to Church to hear the mass celebrated on the holiday of a great saint; but this, far from being incompatible with industrious habits, is most further-some, it being an additional stimulus towards early rising, without which none can attend to his religious duties.

Blind in every sense is he, who, claiming such an acquaintance, dares arraign the Greek clergy of being bribed by Russia to inveigle the lay to Russolatry. Facts still shouting and glaring (and none more so than those connected with Prince Alfred's

election and the elimination of the Duke of Leuchtenberg's candidature) beyond all doubt prove that our clergy are Greek laymen assuming but a ministrant position in the Church of Christ, and, as such, abstaining from all laic councils, although, as Greeks, prone to support all that is equitable and good, and claiming precedence whenever the national interests and decrees are attended with danger. Nor is it true that Russia ever spent a copper to pave her way to Constantinople through insurrections—unless a few insignificant alms-deeds of the court and the nobility be reckoned as state expenses. But, after all, what are they compared to what the Greeks abroad contributed, and still contribute? One single pen-stroke on the part of a merchant's son in this capital, on coming of age, increased the relief funds by a thousand pounds sterling, besides what his family had liberally offered. What the Greek ladies residing in England monthly contribute, from their pin-money alone, exceeds all the product of Russian liberality, which we by no means intend to depreciate, but simply represent to refute a false assertion that Turcophilism makes to identify the interest of Greece with those of Russia, and thus draw upon the Greeks the antipathy arising from Russophobia.

No, no. Russia will save her money for other purposes; or, if she be determined to spend for this one, she will have but one opportunity—that of purchasing the most gorgeous decorations for those who purpose stifling the progress of the Greek element and furthering that of the Slavonic by suppressing the capitulations and the principle of extraterritoriality*—which gave the Greek consular courts of law the first standing in Turkey, and such a one as to attract even the Turk to petition for the Greek judge's sentence,—and then arming the Slavonic element, and triumphantly conducting it into the capital of Constantine, and confiding to it the delightful mission of preventing their kinsmen and themselves from being pre-eminent in Europe!

"Pity," we are told, "that we in Hellas Proper neither have statesmen clever enough, as the Turkish statesmen are, nor can soar high enough to perceive the transcendent ingenuity of those

* The germ of this innovation is found in the *procès-verbal* of the Treaty of Paris after the end of the Crimean War. This seemed to me so prejudicial to Hellenism and favourable to Panslavism, that when, in 1858, the Turkish consul in Syra claimed reciprocity of extra-territorial jurisdiction, on the ground of the treaty between Greece and Turkey, I, as judge, admitted his authority, not so much from the ambiguity of the letter of the treaty, which was interpreted by our ministers in favour of the reciprocity, but mainly from the apprehension that the principle of extraterritoriality—which is useful to none but to us—would be, some day or other, done away with, and superseded by another furthering the position of the Slaves. May no such innovation be realized; but if it be, they who murmured against the sentence of the tribunal of Syra will feel remorse-stricken for life.

who purpose the unity and grandeur of Hellenism by suggesting that we must bend our head under the Turk and the Slave. Could we perceive it, we certainly would abstain from fomenting insurrections palatable to Russia, and," say they, "distasteful to our brethren under the Turk."

The statesmanship of the Turks is certainly wonderful. It is outlandish, and therefore not original: but it is sublime and inconceivably magnanimous. Although the last hour of the race of those statesmen has long ago sounded, still they condescend to represent it as if living, since their friends tell them to do so. Although cloyed with mundane pleasure, they deign to be luxuriously hospitable to their guests. In order to do the honours, they will not hesitate to borrow money at half price, and that in paper, which debases that price to twenty-five or thirty per cent., yielding an interest of eighteen to twenty per cent., which they are ready to pay on condition that new loans be made by the capitalists of their guests, and that the guests themselves should succeed in placing great nations' armies and navies and coffers at the disposal of the Turkish statesman or of his guests, indifferently, that fifteen millions of pounds sterling should be yearly writhed from their Christian subjects, and that none should attempt to trouble this happy state of things, which has brought civilization to its culminating point.

"To the dogs, the disturbers of our happiness," say, therefore, the Turcophiles.

"To the dogs and the ravens, the enjoyers of that happiness," the whole world answers, and louder in that answer the voice of the English nation is heard. And as this is the age of votes and majorities, we beg to be allowed to join the world in our estimate of Turkish statesmanship, which, more among the Anglo-Saxons than anywhere else, is but another name for a complex model of tyranny, covetousness, and lust.

Nor is there any fear of our hurting the feeling of our brethren under the Turk by our so thinking.

Informants friendly to the Crescent were bronze-faced enough to report that those brethren, far from wishing to part with their masters, would feel loth to be annexed to us; and this report found the ear of the British Government so credulous as to induce the Premier to shape it into an argument conclusive of the groundlessness of our claims. But the logic of facts, says the great man of the day, is far stronger than the logic of men, especially when those men are prejudiced against a people, or individual, or thing.

It is a misfortune, no doubt, that the Premier of the English nation, who is all but a common man, should be prejudiced against us; but when we bear in mind that his lordship's preju-

dices do not spare at least our forefathers, we feel somehow consoled. Solemnly, and at the hearing of thunder-joying Jupiter, did Agamemnon declare that the maid Briseis remained immaculate in his tent; and *divus* and swift-footed Achilles implicitly believed him, adding that to disbelieve him would be to deem him an idiot; and yet his lordship, contradicting them both, as well as the most learned interpreters of the great poet, makes the old king of the brave Argives appear faithless to Clytemnestra.

His lordship's estimate of both ancient and modern Greeks only explains the policy adopted by him; but this can by no means alter the course of events, which may undergo a change from the faults of a whole nation, but not of individuals, who, howsoever gigantic they may be in the political world, can only hasten or retard the issue of a cause, but never destroy it if it may be saved, or save it if it must perish; especially if that cause attract the sympathies and votes, as the Greek cause does, of the civilized world.

This assertion the Prytanis of journalists in this metropolis, if not in the whole world, neither assents to nor dissents from; he, therefore, now describes the whole extent of our nation, now confines it to a race not extending beyond the present state; now hopes for us, and now despairs; now extols, and now debases us; now eulogizes, and now maligns us; now, clear-sighted, deciphers in the obscure pages of futurity the unity and glory of Hellenism; now, distraught, predicts its thralldom to the Muscovite. Nor can he extricate himself from that perplexity by invoking the aid of his Athenian informant, "than whom," he thinks, "there is on such subjects no higher authority," the informant being more distraught than the principal himself. They must, therefore, ask each other:

"Quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum?
Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit?"

and let facts model the answer. As, however, that journalist assures us in sacred numbers that he fully assents to the promotion of Hellenism, but he only fears we are not a nation but only a race, confined within the boundaries of our state and Crete, and unable to grasp what lies before us, uncontested though it be by all, we must, thanking him for his kindness, which we admit to be sincere, take the liberty of dispelling those fears.

The reason why every nation is also at least a race, but not every race a nation, is that only those races, that have risen high enough in the knowledge and in the practice of art to leave foot-prints in its different walks, so indelible as to aid him who lost the path of life—the path leading to physical and moral improvement,—those alone are deserving of the appellative "*nation*," those

alone being well born, as the Latins called them, or the well behaving or artistic (*ἔθος, ἔθενός, ἔθνος*), as we called them.

Now, if there be a race on earth *par excellence* entitled to be called a nation, both in its acme, par-acme, and restoration, that race is the Hellenic.

Notwithstanding the surfeit of lucky discoveries that the ages have unfolded to our eyes, the modern artist, in the widest sense, has not yet attained the culminating point in the scale of art, in whose different departments the Greek still holds either an uncontested pre-eminence, or the post of honour, for having led the way to the discovery.

All artists, doctors, *literati*, and generals—on land and on sea—all vail the Greek; nay, the very statesman vails him lower, for it was a Greek that first taught the world that by self-government a larger amount of happiness and stability might be derived in a community than by any other form of government, *of which less the fools than the wise will ever contest.*

Hence one of the greatest men the Teutons ever had tells us "the sun of Homer shines upon us still;" and another great man of the Anglo-Saxon race informs us that "it is Plato's tongue the civilized world is even now speaking, and Plato's landmarks that fix the boundaries of the different provinces of art and science."

But this is not our subject. Our subject is that, notwithstanding the numberless inroads that we for ages sustained at the hands of both the civilized and the barbarians, who, all of them impetuous as a stormy surge, inundated us with floods of vagrant and destructive tribes, neither our fathers' tongue nor their national landmarks, much less their religion, have been effaced or altered. All these suffered from the storm and from the darkness; but when the first ray of light dawned, and the iris announced the ceasing of the tempest, we found that none of our national properties were lost, and that our remotest ancestors might still, if living, trace their offspring, both from the tongue—although stripped of its ornaments by our contact with the barbarian—and from the religious creed, as foreseen by Plato, who for his foresight is called *divine*, and revealed and sanctified by our Saviour, and framed by the Greek fathers of the Church.

Nor is this the strongest proof that Hellenism is still alive and vigorous: a proof stronger than this is, that our victors had nothing to bring with them worthy of being adopted by us and capable of obliterating our traditions. On the contrary, the greatest of our victors avows that

"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio—"

What must the most barbarous of our victors say?

Has he left us a cipher of his art? Has he, at least, shown any respect for ours? No! neither! He has exercised more than despotic and tyrannical sway over us only to tread us down to the miry regions in which he dwells, but in vain; and the country, from our borders to the interior of Asia Minor, on one side, and to the frontiers of Austria and Roumania and Russia on the other, is, in the eyes of the civilized, still a waste bearing to a very great extent the landmarks of ancient Hellenism more indelible than they were found within the area of Attic and Peloponnesian soil, when our present fragmentary restoration was effected.

On that soil more Turkish and Albanian was then spoken than is now in Epirus, Thessaly, Macedon, and Thrace. As to the islands of the Archipelago that are still under the Turk, none but the Turkish *employés* speak the tongue of Islam, which they invariably alternate with the Greek; all the other inhabitants, of whatever religion or origin they may be, speak Greek, and the few existing of Italian origin,* when unconnected with the Propaganda, are as good Greeks as any, although belonging to the Latin Church. In Crete, the 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants that were by force or craft driven to own allegiance to Mohammed not only speak the Greek language, but also preserve the Cretan customs and costumes, and never omit to connect themselves spiritually with the Christian Cretans when opportunity offers, and to invoke the aid of the Greek priest and Church when disease or misfortune wakes them to reason, in which case the Greek priest must read a prayer for the healing of the sick; and, if needs be, the sick as well as the distressed, will, in order to recover health and prosperity, lie down supine on the track to be pursued by the procession of a holy image. Only when reason is blinded by greed for a privilege or an advantage over others will the Cretan—that in the dark days felt his conscience dumb, and then swerved from the right path—side with the sovereign of the day. Should that sovereign be King George, all the Cretan Turks would go to bed Mohammedan and rise Christians. Greek sovereignty may, therefore, more easily take possession of these provinces than it did of those within which it now is confined.

The Albanian of Epirus is also a renegade: being ready,

* The correspondent of the *Daily News* erroneously believes that most Greeks are of Italian origin. The error arises from the Venetians and Genoese having italianized our names, and called the Theotokes, Valaorites, Cladas, Melissinos, Cassimates, Mavromates, Spartales, Rhodocanakes—Teotochi, Valaoriti, Cladan, Melissino, Cassimati, Mavromati, Spartali, Rodocanachi, &c. But all these names are purely Greek, denoting either the domicile, or the trade, or the features of the individual to whom that name was first assigned.

therefore, to abjure and damn the Turks as soon as his privileges and advantages cease, he will, after the example of the Albanian domiciled in Greece, learn all that his office in the Municipal Administrative and Military Department, or his contact with the Judicial and the Financial, may teach him, which, coupled with what his children bring home from the Greek school, and with what he hears from the Greek element with which he is in contact, and with the wonder-working influence of the atmosphere of Greek sovereignty, will in no time render him as pure-blooded a Greek as Miaoulis and Botzaris were, and as their children are.

Nor does this virtue of Greek nationality and sovereignty wane when brought to bear on the Slavonic element that lies on a considerable tract of European Turkey. That element can never rise conspicuous if it be not amalgamated with either the Russian or the Greek, for it neither owns an indigenous art nor can borrow one from abroad before learning the classical languages and at least one of the modern: and none sooner and better than the Greek, in which it would find the scientific nomenclature identified with the familiar, the religious, and the official tongue.

But the worst of all for those who aim at shattering the European equilibrium, and the best for us who support it, is that the Slavonic element will never feel the want of borrowing an art so long as it lies far from every coast but the western one, now owned by the Germans. Unless, therefore, the stolid plan of arming the Slaves, and proclaiming them co-dominant with others in the East, be enforced; and unless the still more stolid policy of efficaciously aiding the Turk to hinder the Greek from gradually advancing be, against the will of the English nation, pursued to the last, which will facilitate the triumph of Russian views: it is more than clear, that it will be far easier to induce the Slavonic element to amalgamate with ours towards the coast, and with the Germanic, and Magyar, and Roumanic towards the main land, and thus remove the wedge by which Russia is acting on European Turkey, than for Russia to infuse into it courage enough and blood by which to effect a general union and claim a sovereign existence, dependent on and allied to none but the Russian.

But the strongest reason why we are a nation is, that we have an educated family, alive not only, but active also, and co-operating in our national interests; whereas those tribes that settled on our soil after an inroad have only uneducated families, dead to all but to procreation and household service; and as to our conquerors, they neither had, nor have, nor ever can form a family at all so long as they profess the creed of Islam, which,

being disowned, they will become insignificant members of another nationality.

No race can, now-a-days, become a great nation if it has not first risen to such a mental height as to believe, with Plato, that man can only then attain whatever degree of development and perfection is allotted to him by nature when he can perceive that he is twofold on earth, and not simple; and that, being such, all his manifestations must flow from a twofold will, produced by the union of sexes, which alone, and not the single being's will, can infallibly, so far as is given to mortals, judge what is right and what is wrong.

These notions, which a scarcely incipient practice is only now introducing into society, are of a purely Greek birth. Out of Greece they never until now found any admirers, Christianity itself having at first given them but a qualified acceptance, which the knights-errant were totally unable to enhance, for with them education would be impure if uncoupled with ignorance, with wantonly overbearing and pugnacious habits, and with the adoration of outward beauty. These virtues, which are the exclusive ownership of the middle ages, we candidly avow, to the satisfaction of the anonymous pamphleteer, we do not possess; and what is more, we declare we are unable to possess them, and extremely happy for being deprived of such ability; for, should the revival of chivalry be deemed advisable in our prosaic age, we should imbibe a love for it by imitating the exploits of Achilles, Jason, Theseus, and Hercules—all tending to instil an admiration for art, liberty, and order, and for internal beauty, precluding all fickle, and fitful, and desultory affections and unions, rather than for the external, when the two do not co-exist.

It is, therefore, erroneous on the part of the said pamphleteer to believe that civilization, which alone can effect the refinement of honour, is a mediæval creation, as it is erroneous on his part to think that modern Greece is Byzantine.

The least acquaintance with us would have led him to perceive that we are Byzantine only inasmuch as the fathers of Christianity were themselves Byzantine; but no sooner have we inserted the orations of Chrysostomus, and Basilus, and Gregorius in the school text-book, than we cease to be Byzantine as regards politics, art, science, and society, and we derive all our traditions from Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, and to a certain extent from Macedon itself. The disfavour under which the Phanariotes—in part justly, but mainly unjustly—are labouring among us, proves how sternly averse we are to the Byzantine civilization.

Even hence, however, both he and all who wish to study the Eastern Question may form a just estimate of us, if they be

kind enough to drop the prism that stands between their eyes and the East, and analyze the only one virtue they admit we have—that of loving our country and of endeavouring to restore it to its olden grandeur.

Country, or fatherland, is a word devoid of all meaning for him who is a member of a mere tribe or race, the divine and universal law of improvement being still unknown to him to whom objectless self-maintenance and procreation are the only motors of a life needing but a den or a hut to find a home for ends, which short logic renders equally short, and easily realized by a mere roving life.

No more would the Indian care to fix his home's landmarks so as to acquire a vast and easily-protected sphere of action, than would the lion or the bear. And no more would a man contemplating that law, and ardently wishing to practise it, content himself with a territory both narrow and subject to inroads than he would with bondage. To widen it and make it safe, or to emigrate to a safer and wider one, is as great a necessity as that of fleeing that state of bondage.

A country, or fatherland, therefore belongs to him who understands he must improve himself and form an improvement-seeking family with whom to contribute from generation to generation to the perfection of the present period of creation; and the more he obeys that law, the more a fatherland belongs to him; and the more he endeavours to own it, the more his determination of improving himself and his neighbours becomes stronger and apparent.

The love of country, then, is not a simple affection; it is a complex one, embracing both family and property, and all that the ages have done to perfect and sanctify the first and improve and perpetuate the second.

He, therefore, who admits that the love of our country engrosses our heart, is inconsistent and contradictory when he asserts that we have no other virtue; and he, who blames us, as our friend Digamma does, for over-indulging in that love, unawares commends us for wishing to perfect and sanctify our family and improve and perpetuate our property, and finish those institutions which the superior man has created to obtain those ends.

Nor can the imperfections inherent in every man, be he the most civilized, lessen the strength of these reflections, for the acute and just observer, bearing in mind that not much more than a generation ago we got rid of the incubus that oppressed us in body and mind, will feel satisfied with our earnest wish of beating the track of civilization, coupled with irrefragable proofs of an incipient realization, which would have been much

more advanced towards completion had we been rightly tutored and more effectively befriended.

That wish exists nowhere else in the East but in Greece, which really is a Levantine country if that attribute is used to designate the east of Europe, but if it be used as a synonym of Asiatic ignorance and servility of mind and vapidity of feeling, I am sorry to say that the applier of that attribute is sadly labouring under the weight of the first of these misfortunes.

The real Levantine—such as the Turk—exists but to exist and procreate. If he has the means of enhancing that existence, he will employ it to consummate a state of loathsome intemperance and lust, for the sake of which, if he can, he will destroy the world, else he will recoil to a crouching existence.

Hence man in such a society is either a brutal despot or a mean thrall; and woman either the source of lechery or a slavish nurse; and both are ready to migrate from place to place either to satiate their greed or to conceal their villainess.

The difference between the Levantine and the Greek is this: that the former belongs to a fair clime where all *but* the spirit of man is divine; whereas, the latter is the offspring of a "fair clime where all *like* the spirit of man is divine."

Partly by fleeing his oppressor's polluting and destructive contact; partly by the aid of religion; partly by the traditional example of his ancestors of old; and, lastly, by studying the life and manners of those ancestors, and avoiding the manners of the spurious ones who succumbed to the barbarian: the modern Greek in general, and more especially the employer of hands and the workman, affords us the most striking instance of a citizen loving and practising a perfect identity of interest and predilections between him and every member of his family, the most chastened yet affable manners and morals in society, and of boundless liberty tempered by a proportionate amount of order and obedience to the laws protecting honour, person, and property.

He who will take the pains of glancing at the interior of a family will find the wife so well acquainted with all the interests of her husband as to be able to give her opinion, which she invariably does on all occasions, whether asked for it or not: so bound does she deem herself to communicate her thoughts to her husband for his, and hers, and their children's sake. This may, and does indeed at times, degenerate into the domineering insolence of a Xanthippe; but, besides its being rare, it is more than recompensed by the worth that resolutions acquire, when they are taken after forethought, advice, and discussion, and by the readiness with which an experienced wife will take the lead in family matters whenever the husband is either unfit or temporarily or definitively absent.

The children of such a family are up before daybreak, and, with the aid of a private teacher or of their parents, will read their lessons until school-time, when the town bell will summon them to their classes, to which they hasten under the vigilance of the public *Pædonoms* and private *Pædotrophs*, who also aid, on one hand, the teachers in the maintenance of order : and, on the other, the parents, in having their children home immediately after school-hours, and after recreation, which is also taken under the vigilance of the *Pædonoms*: after which the whole family collects at home, where the frugal meal is distributed among them and the servants, through the strictly observed maxim, "all mouths are brothers:" and then, after a short account of the day's labour and profit, the children will read awhile, then say their prayers: then, a little before their parents, go to bed early, that they may also rise early.

The house is open to friends all the Sundays and the great national festivals; and three times a year—viz., on Christmas, on the new year's day, and at Easter—doors are open to the whole community, and mutual benedictions are invariably uttered, implying both religious and national weal.

No lady's visit is admitted by the lady of the house, if the visitress does not bring her work with her, without which even the visited would be obliged to remain idle, which is neither more nor less than a *sin*.

Nor is that wife insensible to the national or political interests of her husband: on the contrary, both she and her daughters take a most active part in them, no affection being deemed ennobling and great if no pæan, or hymn, or elegy be sung by the fair sex of Greece.

Then did King Otho's fall become inevitable when the Greek ladies struck up a song enjoining his expulsion, and then did the Cretan insurrection become momentous when the ladies of Greece tuned the war-song to a pathetic strain, and stripped themselves of all ornaments but those of the national colours, or the sky-blue ribbon on a straw hat, on which the name of Crete, or Epirus, or Thessaly, or Thrace is written in golden letters.

It is a very rare occurrence for an old bachelor or an old maid to be treated with pity: the rule is that they are both mocked and taunted with sarcasms far more acrid than the lashes the Spartan maid of old was allowed to inflict on the old bachelor with the whip round the altar. Hence it may easily be conceived how very few people are unmarried in Greece, and how honest and honourable a community of married and industrious men must be.

A dishonest, and yet unrepenting, woman in Greece is worse

than one stricken with pestilence ; but the penitent meets with more charitableness there than anywhere else. It is not rare, indeed, to see a young man marry a harlot to save her from perdition, and do away with the scandal.

Not so with him who is involved in debt, and cannot pay it. Him the great divine and moralist of England does not strip of his honour ; but the Greek community inexorably does, unless the weightiest of reasons justify him, in which case he is entitled to claim both respect and aid, which is so bountifully granted to him that craves it as to banish both want and hunger from his home.

This is how Christianity is understood and practised in Greece, and on this ground, and by a superior education,* is the refinement of honour attained to ; if it be unpalatable to our pamphleteer, he must be either too fastidious or too Philottoman.

By such notions and such practices we intend forming a Fatherland (*πατρίδα*), on which to fulfil our mission upon earth. To judge of Greece, as some travellers do, from exceptionally existing vice, and from a few individuals aping foreign manners, habits, and tongue, and then return home and flippantly recount that those are the prevalent features in that community, would be to believe, or feign the belief, that the quaint vestment and comportment of a masquerade are the costumes and manners of the place, and recklessly or maliciously consign that misconception or misrepresentation to ignorant folks for circulation.

When we read their pages we mentally answer them by the

"Non ti curar di lor, ma guarda e passa."

But to the sycophant, who practises his fawning on the creditors of Turkey by writing or reciting libels against Greece and the Greeks, we owe this answer, to be judged not by wights of his size and taste, but by the great people at whose feet he lays now a misstatement, now a sophism, tending to debase the Greek element, which is to him so unsympathetic, and to uphold and raise his congenial Turk in their estimation.

The friends of truth and justice have, through the above description, already had an insight of the state of the Greek community ; now they must know why we have not yet satisfied our creditors, why we have not governed ourselves better, and why brigandage has not been definitively exterminated from Greece.

There is not one among the Greeks wishing to refuse the

* It is gladdening to the patriot, and delightful to the Philhellene, to see that the higher education is more perfect in our female than in our male schools. For this we are indebted to the quasi-maternal cares of Mrs. Hill, and of the American ladies that aid her in enlightening and elevating our young ladies' minds, and chastening and ennobling their hearts.

recognition and payment of the national debts, or not sorry for the intervening procrastination. There is a difference of opinion as to the mode of extinguishing them, some people maintaining that we are not bound to recognize more than such a share of the debts as is proportionate to the liberated part of the Greek land; others, and the most, insisting that we ought to recognize the whole, and promise to pay the whole, and begin to pay now what we, consistently with our position, can, and increase the quantum as little by little we shall, under God, recover our national territory from its unlawful possessor. All opinions, however, are agreed that we must do all we can, and all that is just, to satisfy our creditors.

But when had these opinions an opportunity of attaining the sanction of a national resolution? Certainly not before our independence, when, for the want of taxable matter, we had no revenues. Not immediately after it, for scarcely had the first tax been collected, and the untoward answer given to a diplomatist by Count Capodistria likening the nation under self-government to an infant handling a razor, kindled a civil war, which ended by the death of that ruler, and by the accession of the Bavarian prince to the throne of Greece. Not during the reign of King Otho, for home policy led that sovereign to be both apparently and virtually absolute, and later, although apparently constitutional, virtually more absolute than ever; and as the constitutional government is an English institution, it would be useless pleading in favour of our English creditors. Not in the intervening time between the dethronement and the election of a National Assembly, for the Triumvirate had not the power to do it. Not before the election of our King, for the nation's ill-success as regards Prince Alfred was attended by such serious troubles, through the revival of foreign influences, that had been silenced by Sir Thomas Wyse, and the rekindling of factious feuds, as to jeopardize its best interest, and put in abeyance all other questions but the preliminary one about power, which, unfortunately, has ever since the great revolution been, and will, so long as we continue to adopt a mongrel policy, be an unsettled one.

Several efforts were indeed made towards satisfying our creditors a little before the election of King George, and they might prove successful had speculators in this country been more just and less sanguine in their expectations, and Mr. Calliga's earnest endeavours to moderate their demands, and thus obtain that satisfaction, been charitably treated.

New efforts were, nevertheless, employed shortly after our King's accession to bring about a definitive arrangement; but as the three protecting Powers are also our creditors, Mr. Calliga,

then Foreign Office Minister, and his colleagues thought it was incumbent on them to ask them to be allowed to cede a share of the revenue for the extinction of the old debts. This, however, was prohibited, and the English Government, I am sorry to say, stood then foremost in that prohibition, although now Lord Stanley most complacently complies with our request; and yet a little later, when Mr. Valaoriti held the Foreign Office, new negotiations were carried on between the Greek Government and Mr. Merlin, as representative of our creditors, a report had already been made by the Minister of Finance, and, after coming to a definitive understanding with Mr. Merlin, a bill, settling this matter, would have been submitted to our Parliament, had not political circumstances rendered a change of ministry indispensable.

The new Foreign Office Minister, Mr. Delegiorgi, would fain follow up the work of his predecessors, had he continued in office when our Parliament met; but before that time arrived all negotiations were suspended, for the events that are still passing had already forecast their huge shadows. That suspension should not, perhaps, be discontinued so long as the Cretan question, being still pending, may compel the nation to adopt measures needing the whole of its resources; and yet it has been discontinued by new efforts made, perhaps unadroitly, by the unskilled, and newer still, through the consummate tact and rare philopatry of Mr. Spartali, our Consul-General, on whom not only Sir Peter Braila and the Government, but also his Majesty the King and our nation implicitly rely. Mr. Spartali could not make a proposal more materially advantageous to our creditors, and morally to us, than that which is now under examination.

Our creditors must bear in mind that the Hellenic nation borrowed money, not to make railways or open canals promoting the wealth of the indebted country, but to expel the barbarian from Europe, which is an international task, inevitably incumbent on and intensely behoving every civilized people; that it is not the Government of the present State that figured as a party in the contract, but a Pan-Hellenic Government; that the present State of Greece is confined within a small portion of the Greek territory, which is hardly the fifth of what some day will, under God, and through the aid of the civilized peoples, be the whole country, and yet it is encumbered with all the burdens of a great kingdom, and it is, moreover, involved in an enormous debt, which originated from a most infelicitous policy, and was squandered by maladministration; that what is offered to them is much more than what, according to the Greek laws, the most influential of Greeks holding such bonds would be entitled to

obtain, those laws explicitly dismissing all claims regarding the original capital after that a bond has, as in the concrete case, circulated, or interests exceeding the capital. The present bond-holders, therefore, could not before the Greek courts of justice claim more than half the sum now offered them, those bonds having been emitted for £2,300,000 nominally, but only £924,800 really, and sold as low as 5 per cent., which may not be more than doubled through the accumulation of interest, especially if negligence as regards reimbursement may be attributed to a creditor.

But all this is overlooked by us, and our only wish is to satisfy our creditors as far as we can. To offer more than we have already done, would be to do more for our creditors than for ourselves, which is worse than forgetting them entirely; the fairest of all, perhaps, would be to promise our creditors another million pounds sterling to be paid proportionately as little by little our provinces, that are now occupied by the Turk, would be one after another or more at once annexed; and I am sure that if our creditors would make such a proposal, the Greek Government and Parliament would most readily and cheerfully accept it. Nor would such an arrangement seem shocking or strange after the incessant assertions coming to us from every quarter that the Turk is either dead or dying.

Should the present negotiations end in no result; should expectations based on those negotiations be balked, we shall feel no remorse whatever, for we have offered our creditors more than we were even morally bound to offer.* Thus we shall have the satisfaction of answering our detractors as regards this charge, that we never before 1862 had it in our power to examine the subject regarding our old debts; that since 1862 we have done all we could to please our creditors, but we have not been successful on account now of the English Government, and now of our creditors themselves; and that delay which the latter complain of, and which seems to be the source of every obstacle, forms the ground of our complaint also, for if this matter had been settled from the very beginning, it would not weigh upon us now so heavily as it does. To blame for that delay, we are certainly not. It would have been avoided to the full satisfaction of all parties, if in 1833, when the three Powers were lending money to the Bavarian prince, and not to the Greek nation, the bond-holders had not

* On the 13th inst., our creditors resolved to accept our proposition, provided special securities be assigned for the payment of the interest and sinking fund, and that the latter be augmented in 1872 to £20,000 per annum. The last condition ought to be unhesitatingly accepted, but not the former, which, besides being degrading, deprives us of the opportunity of proving that we intend being true and punctual in our promises.

forgotten the *vigilantibus jura*, and if the English Government had been more paternal to them by warding their interests, when opportune, by aiding a friendly debtor, who is both willing and able to pay, and withholding that aid from one, who has requited weal with woe, bitter enough already, and incalculably so in future.

Next comes the grave question, why do we not govern ourselves better?

English reporters are pleased to throw all the blame on the administering persons, and none on the constitution; but the mistake is just as great as that which fancied the sun turning round the earth, and rejected the latter's revolution on its own axis; just as amusing as that which made the illiterate clown angry for not being able to read, although he wore those very spectacles to which he ascribed a deciphering virtue; and quite as fatal as that which brought the skilled mariner to a wreck merely because he suspected his own skill, but not the fallaciousness of his compass.

Indeed, so highly do they extol our laws that many of us, biassed by the opinions of such critics, are induced to think that we are worthless beings, for, although we hold the *lapis philosophorum* in our constitution, yet from negligence or ignorance or stupidity have not yet succeeded to turn into gold all our base metal.

It is only the more independent among us, that at the sight of misgovernment exclaim, in the language of a nautical people,

"Ἡ κακὴ εἶναι τ' ἄρμενα

"Ἡ κακ' ἀρμενίζομεν;"*

and fewer than one's fingers are they that believe that the constitution is more defective than the administration, and define those defects by denouncing the institutions consecrated by our fundamental law as too liberal for Greece.

All these opinions are mistaken, although the last is nearer to the truth than all the others. But the truth neither accuses the administrators, nor denounces our institutions of being too liberal; it only discovers a lack of balance of power, rendering our constitution virtually despotic, and perplexing the administrators that enforce it; and blames the English statesmen for not having detected the faults while being committed, and for not having suggested their correction while a new constitution was being framed. It would be untimely now to dwell on disquisitions and dissertations concerning the theoretical notions of government. Self-government, however, based on a representation commensurate to the development of each community, is, both

* Either the rigging is bad, or we are badly sailing.

theoretically and practically, the only government suiting every people on earth, when the balance of power is so equipoised as to hold out, not disappointed expectations, which is the result of the working of all continental politics, but certain and effective protection to the weak against the overbearing, be he who he may.

The only difference between theory and praxis is that the former aims at nothing short of the exclusive sovereignty of law—a law flowing from experimental and not dogmatic sources—whereas, the latter, through the defective balancing of power, more or less favours the encroachments of the individuals over the dominions of the law, and thus, by allowing the wilful or accidental intrusion of an extraneous element, alloys the essence of the principle through which alone liberty, order, and progress may be obtained.

That balance, which, indeed, comprises the sum total of political science, cannot fail to be defective if the legislator omit to preserve in the world of politics, the process of *analysis* and *synthesis* through which the human mind operates, and to appoint different officers or organs for the above twofold performance.

That the judiciary ought to be the analytical power in a commonwealth, it is scarcely needful to say, for only magistrates wise and independent, before whom every individuality and every authority ought to ply the knee, can through free and public discussion discover which are the wants of that community, and which are not, and how they are regulated by the laws.

The legislative, therefore, which evidently is the synthetical power, should not only respect and support the functions of the judiciary, but also be guided by the result of those functions, it being the true representative of the wants of a community, whose delegates should acknowledge and sanction the experience of the judiciary by blending the laws to harmonize with it.

All but representative, then, is that state, whose representation, far from being guided and checked by the judiciary, disregardingly and waywardly enacts the laws, and by its overbearing pre-eminence forces the judiciary to a servile compliance.

That state, if the executive emanate from the legislative, is but an oligarchical phaulocracy, or rule of the foul and the wicked, to whom Royalty *cannot avoid being subservient*; and if it emanate from Royalty, it is but a representative one in appearance, and virtually despotic, and dependent on the will of an absolute monarch, condescending to allow the existence of a sham representation. When a state possesses a legislative and an executive representing the prevalent party, but guided by and enforcing

the degrees of a judiciary, representing the whole community and checking the above two powers; and moreover a sovereign power, taking an irresponsible cognizance of the whole administration, and forming an executive, agreeable to the legislative so long as it is true to the delegants or constituents, or else agreeable to the latter, to whom an appeal is then made for new delegates: when that state is thus organized it may be said to have done the utmost towards a perfect balance of power.

Ancient Athens affords the nearest approximation to such an ideal commonwealth, for the most prominent features of national sovereignty were found in the ten jurisdictions of the judiciary, whose greatest member, the Areopagus, was by statesmanship represented through traditions, no matter of what nature, as being worthy of hearing Gods as litigants. Indeed, were the supreme power distinct from that of the chief of the executive, the commonwealth would have lived much longer, for an irresponsible Ephor might, even in the absence of an immutably fundamental law, have spared the judiciary from degradation, and delayed the downfall of the commonwealth. It, nevertheless, enjoyed a longevity unequalled in history, for the unlimited democracy alone count upwards of six centuries.

Rome, although built by the malcontents of Greece, the opposers of federacy, and the supporters of national unity, could not live half the time of the Athenians and the Spartans, nor did it excel in any branch of science or art, but the juridical (not the jural), for no Theseus or Alfred the Great was there to raise the judiciary to a pre-eminent power. On the contrary, it was embodied in the Senate, which was the seat of the legislative, and to a great extent of the administrative also, and therefore held a subordinate place in the commonwealth, which, being thus deprived of the necessary balance of power, had to strive long to find it, and suffer so much from that strife, that when the wholesome measure of investing the knights also with judicial power was compulsorily adopted, it was too late to save the commonwealth from perishing.

In England and in the United States of America, the only truly self-governed countries since the days of ancient Greece and Rome, the praxis has not yet risen as high as it might be expected.

The judiciary in England holds only a prominent position—not a pre-eminent one, as it held in ancient Athens; and for this reason it fails to attract the leading men of the country into its ranks. Besides, as the legislative may abrogate any law, fundamental or not, it is never constitutionally checked by the judiciary, which, on the contrary, may be degraded, or even annihilated by the legislative, for who can protect the longevity

of these institutions against the impetus of an unbridled representation, which may at any moment force its way to Parliament?

The English constitution, however, is not more exposed to dangers than that of the United States of America, in which the judiciary, although possessed of more power, is not after all pre-eminent, most judges being elective, and all inadequately remunerated. Besides, the advantage accruing from the inability of the legislative to alter the fundamental law is alloyed by the absence of an enactment permitting a more enlarged representation to revise and improve it. But the most striking imperfection is the president's administrative power and responsibility, which both, debasing him as they do from his most elevated position of representative of the whole nation to the far inferior one of chief of a temporary if not ephemeral majority, render him an organ of persecution or retaliation, and an object of opposition and hatred, and thus deprive the state of an unfactioned supreme official, in whom the people, when driven to discord and confusion, expect to find that safety and consolation which the traveller of the ocean or the desert finds in a harbour and in an oasis.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, however, both commonwealths bear every feature, not of a military, and therefore despotic polity, but of a civil and therefore a liberal one, and enjoy the blessings flowing from it.

After the striking proofs afforded by democratic ancient Greece and republican Rome, and by modern England and America, that no nation can be truly civilized and great if unpossessed of such a civil, self-governed polity, it is astonishing to see nations, well qualified to be great, insist on the maintenance of a military government, which, if organized for internal purposes, becomes tyrannical, and therefore retrogressive, and if for external, squanders the nation's treasures when needless, and when needs will be to spend, they will be found either exhausted or insufficient to ensure success.

If Greece and Rome were taught by experience that, even during the heroic ages, an armed but industrious people, with a civilly strong but militarily disarmed government, could much more easily undertake both defensive and offensive operations than an armed government with a disarmed people—for to arm the government is to thin the ranks of the industrious, and to oblige the latter to sustain, not only the thinning, but also the maintenance of those that have ceased to be contributors in the promotion of national wealth and art in general—modern nations should, *a fortiori*, adopt that policy, this age being anything but heroic, and the examples of Great Britain and the United States

of America—the only two unvanquished States on earth—most emphatically pleading for the adoption.

But leaving other nations to do what they think best, and returning at once, I maintain, in spite of our friend Digamma's apprehensions, we could and ought to have a thoroughly civil and self-governed polity, with every improvement that history suggests and the age allows.

What hindered us from enacting the pre-eminence of the judiciary by our constitutional law? Why not vest that power with the right of interpreting *all* laws, and enforcing them to the extent that experience has shown to be unexceptionable? Why not confer upon our judges the authority of protecting the citizens' liberty by the efficacious means of the *habeas corpus* writ? Why not ensure and enhance their authority by explicitly characterizing the polity as purely civil, and by excluding the regular army from all interference in police matters so long as the *habeas corpus* law was not suspended, excepting as auxiliary to the police, and, therefore, amenable to the civil jurisdiction? Why not raise them to full independence by adding to their life-long appointment a high and unalterable stipend and precedence?

Had these enactments, and those regarding the publicity and dispatch of the judicial inquests, the requisites of officials, and the duration of their services, found a place in our constitution, the representation, which is the only source of evil to Greece, would, especially if tempered by an *elective* body of *qualified* senators, have been very different from what it now is, and the nation would, by strides, perform its great career.

Why, then, since nothing prevented us from giving a civil form and essence to our government, have we once more failed in balancing the different powers, and, on that account, have once more rendered prevalent the military element, which, howsoever patriotic, highminded, and liberal our army may be, must, fulfilling the mission that all armies are bound to fulfil, either unawares or from the nature of that institution, become the supporter of individuals and despotism, and the persecutors of legality and freedom? The explanation is obvious.

When the Bavarian prince was appointed by the protecting powers to fill the throne of Greece, learned men were sent with him from Germany to frame the body of laws, to interpret them through Greeks and Germans, and to enforce them through the aid of Bavarian troops.

The policy of those doctors seems to have been to astonish the Greeks by their legislative lore; they, therefore, framed a body of laws, organic, of procedure and criminal, which they borrowed from all nations—modern, mediæval, and ancient—and

thus elevated themselves above all censure, for no Greek could then pretend to become the critic of such abstruse science.

That astonishment having been abundantly produced as regards the civil part of our laws, they claimed equal submission even as regards the political, about which many Greeks could confidently emit an opinion, but which our lawgivers protected from all criticism by showing the above codes of law to the indiscreet inquisitor, and by telling him: "*Ex uno disce omnia.*"

Far from me be the intention of showing disrespect to German science, which has so much contributed to the diffusion of knowledge, not only by its discoveries and method, but by its inventions also; but, as all the blame is thrown upon the Greek, and none upon his laws, it is but fair to examine if, and how far, those laws are perfect.

I do not appeal to the Anglo-Saxon and Latin critic only for judgment; I appeal also the German, and I begin with the examination of Mr. Maurer's "Civil Procedure," which is considered to be the *chef-d'œuvre* of our body of laws.

What would those critics, and more especially the German, say if they saw its working? Would they be able to find fault with the conflicting sentences of the courts of justice, when the most elaborate works could not succeed in rendering prevalent either the spirit or the letter of the law, and when only the *argumentum ad absurdum* puts at rest the hot controversy? Would they not think it degrading to German science that such logical means should be resorted to? And yet it is very often inevitable; for, when the legislator enacts that chattels seized in the hands of a third party are inalienable from the moment, not of the seizure, but of the petition relating to the validity of the seizure—a petition which cannot be simultaneously made—the judge is compelled to decide that they are, in spite of the law, inalienable as soon as seized, else the third party would, in order to protect his own interests and avoid litigation, collude with the debtor to defraud the seizing creditor. But, unfortunately, this is not the only way in which German science is ill-treated.

Dovetailing unadroitly from different sources renders precedents so fluctuating, that not only the unfortunate litigants, but lawyers also, are obliged to admit the influence of stars in litigation. And yet the judges are not to blame, for it is equally correct to say that the decision of a criminal court is a *res judicata* binding on every other court of justice, as it is to maintain that it is not, for the remote sources of that part of the law are the conflicting precedents of the French courts of justice and the clashing opinions of jurists; but, as the Greek law clearly enacts that whatever the sentence of the Criminal Court may be—either absolatory or condemnatory—it does not preclude the

resorting of parties to the Civil Courts, those maintaining that it is a *res judicata* have the majority of precedents and jurists on their side, but their adversaries have the letter of the law, backed by the minority of precedents and jurists.

It is not the fault of the Greek judge if litigants find that preliminary and interlocutory sentences are now wholly inexecutable after appeal; now partly executable, partly not; and now wholly executable: as clear an antinomy as can be legalizes both extreme opinions, the law first enacting that all preliminary sentences are provisionally executable, and then adding that the effects of the appeal are to devolve the case to the superior judge, and to suspend the execution of the appealed decision. Two exceptions are made, but neither of them alludes to preliminary sentences.

Whence, then, is a criterion to be formed? From the letter of the law? It is decidedly contradictory. From the spirit? It is equally such, the two contradictory dispositions flowing from two different systems—the Germanic, which permits the execution of all preliminary sentences notwithstanding the intervention of an appeal; and the Latin, which permits it only as an exception, *not* comprised in the Greek law. What would those critics say if they saw the working of those laws effected under the eyes of Mr. Maurer, and Mr. Maurer himself most impassibly denying his aid to extricate the Greek judges from the state of perplexity in which he was placed, now by the hiatuses, now by the conflict, and lastly by the absurdity of our laws? We feel certain that they would address both Mr. Maurer and his encomiast, that waywardly lauds our laws, telling the latter first: "Sir, I do not blame you for your reports, for it seems you have spent your days in finding what has been and what is being done, but you care little about the what ought to be and may be done, which is the only question of life, and for which alone we take the trouble of inquiring what has been done. To Mr. Maurer, who professes to know what should and might be done in Greece, we must say: Sir, your institutions by which it is intended to console the cares and heal the sufferings of the Greek people, are a complete failure, for, while administering the consolation and operating the healing, they cause more grief and pain than the patient complained of before applying for aid; and, after all, they dismiss that patient from their hospital now half healed, now unhealed, and oftener with two sores instead of one. This is certainly neither German science nor German praxis, which last, however, should not be a guide for organizing modern Greece. A much more simple and withal pliable organ should be modelled for the Greeks on the pattern of modern civilization, viewed, not as a mitigator of

mediæval intolerance, but as an improved sequel of the best days of democratic Athens, whose light is shining on the land of the Anglo-Saxons and on the communes and provinces, but not on the capitals of the Teutons. If you meant to ruin the country confided to your legislative cares, you could not have found a better organ; but if you meant to educate it for a great career, you have grossly mistaken the right way."

And if this would be the resentment of the German critic himself at the sight of the civil part of the productions of the German lawgiver, what would it be at his mere glancing at the political part of those productions?

Let us see.

The favourite doctrine of the Bavarian legislators was: "English liberties moulded anew through the French crucible."

It is totally needless to say that the French crucible in the eyes of our legislators had the power of throwing off the precious metal of orderly Liberty as if it were scum or dross, and of retaining the base one of tyrannical Order to be covered over by a mere gilding, which makes it look as fulgent as the sterling metal does.

The process is simple.

The national sovereignty is assumed by the supreme Archon, surrounded by unfixed pleiades, forming a fluctuating oligarchy, from whom the spirit of despotism emanates to be embodied in the army, as symbol of Violence, under whose bias civil authorities are appointed to protect civil liberties agreeably with the spirit of despotism. This system, which differed from ancient despotism only inasmuch as it first wore the fox's skin, and then, if needs were, the lion's was with masterly craft installed into Greece.

In the background stood the King as the centre of sovereignty, with his Camarilla as an oligarchical council,* with a comparatively overwhelming army as the embodiment of violence,

* It must be clearly understood that I am inveighing only against the principle adopted in governing Greece, and not against the rulers, whose only fault was that of too much relying on inculcations flowing from German statesmanship.

The King was certainly not endowed with superior intelligence, but he was a very kind and mild sovereign, loving virtue from his heart, and abandoning it only from necessity. The Queen, far more intelligent than the King, and eminently active and resolute, and sensitive in the perception of excellence, would have immortalized her name if the fawners of the privileges of German royalty, and of the pre-eminence of German statesmanship had not engrossed her mind that the Greek must be dazzled, not persuaded; and that the only government suiting him is the despotic, which anywhere is the paternal one. As to those constituting the Camarilla, so kind, civil, able, and well-behaving were they, that none is there among the Greeks denouncing them of any other fault but that of too zealously enforcing a wrong statesmanship.

and with an inexorable administrative, having so little in common with that of the United States of America, or even of England and Prussia, as the jack-a-lantern has with a light-house ; and acting as vehicle of the bias practised by the Central Power on the civil authorities.

In the foreground stood the latter—viz., the Communal and Provincial Councils, the State Council, and the Courts of Justice—apparently independent, but virtually subservient to the Central Power.

The communal authorities were intended to represent the principle of decentralization, by the division of the state into small communities of at least three hundred souls, and by the administration of the local interests to be effected by the decrees of the municipal council, and by a local or communal police.

But this power, which in England and in America, and to a very great extent in Germany also, is the axis of self-government, in Greece was destined to be an auxiliary to despotism. The municipal councillors, or local delegates, and the assessors of the mayor, were elected by a limited number of voters, through scraps of paper bearing the names of the candidates, which might be either secret or manifest at the option of each voter. As each scrap contained the names of more candidates, it was necessary that the friends of each party should make combinations comprising all their candidates, and choose a symbol distinguishing one party from the other.

The difference of colour in the voting-ticket was the most ready expedient, and as such it was invariably adopted.

Before the day of the elections came, the candidates forming the two combinations and their friends canvassed the propensities of voters, and although the first impression was that the Government had no chance, it ultimately carried the day, for voters siding with the Government obtained many and precious favours, such as a lighter or at least easier taxation ; a leave to build a new or to repair an old house in contravention of the town plan ; the cancelling of the name of a son or of a nephew from the list of conscripts ; and many others which were withheld from those voting for the opposition, on whom every persecution was heaped.

The day of the election at last came, and voters went to the church, in which they were carried on, to exercise their sovereign right. But how ? That place was surrounded by a formidable military force ready to present arms to voters introduced by the Government candidates, and bearing the sacred colour ; and still more ready to show the point of the bayonet to voters unknown to the Government people, or unwilling to accept the ticket offered them by the latter.

Did this barrier prove surmountable, there was another within equally favourable to the Government, and equally averse to the opposition, for the commission on whom the admission or rejection of a voter wholly depended, although chosen by lot, was through chiroscopy composed of individuals belonging to the Government party; and if by a rare good fortune the juggling necessary for such a result could be conjured off, the individuals composing that commission might be good patriots until the election eve, when they went to bed loyal citizens, but, through invincible arguments, rose servile subjects; and then woe to him that did not bear the Government ticket. He was sure to be rejected, even when his identity was familiarly known to the members of the commission, who would beg a thousand pardons of the voter Mr. John James for rejecting him; but what could they do when the Government candidates maintained that he must not vote, his name being misspelt, for there is an *o* in John, which is a mistake, and an *a* in James, which is also a mistake! But should lot and arguments and threats by a miracle fail, the despot was no longer a fox: he was a lion, and as such he majestically appeared through the instrumentality of his Nomarch or Eparch and their satellites on the spot of the elections, and before even taking notice of the animate opposition, thwarted it to vile submission by the stern manner he dealt with things connected with it.

"What is the meaning of these tables?" asked the Nomarch of those days in Syra.

"Your Excellency, they belong to the candidates of the opposition," was the answer.

"To the opposition?" the Nomarch rejoined. "Is there, then, an opposition against the KING? Take away those tables anon, and break them in pieces. There can be no opposition against the King. All Greeks are His Majesty's most loyal and most devoted subjects. Let the bell, then, toll the freedom of these elections, there being no opposition against his Majesty."

It is needless to remark that without any further violence than the above, wielded as it was by so strong a hand, now and then striking a smart blow, submission was the fate of the weaker citizens, and abstinence of the stronger. The only question, therefore, was to find a number of weak citizens large enough to form a quorum. This done, with great difficulty, through the unrelenting exertions of the Government candidates and of all the authorities; through the unremitting tolling of the church-bell claiming the presence of the truant voters; and through the declarations of the Nomarch or the Eparch that the elections were *perfectly free*, provided no opposition were

evinced against the king—this done, the communal council was definitively installed, for all complaints against such elections were invariably rejected by both the Nomarch or Governor and the Minister.

The election of the mayor was much easier, for the number of voters was most limited, and there were three candidates for one place. Thus the central authority could, with faint exertions, support the three candidates against any others, and after their success confer the magistracy upon him who promised a higher amount of loyalty and devotion.

Nor did the Central Power withdraw its iron grasp from the communal authorities after their installation: on the contrary, they felt it tighter and stronger than ever, for their only power of emitting decrees, concerning the local administration, was nullified by the administrative authority's *veto*, and anti-decretals (which last, even now, homogeneous praxis warrants as lawful), or by comminations of dismissing either the mayor or the communal council, or both, at any time within the period of the three years, which was the legal duration of their office, if either of them, or both, did not show docility in bearing the despot's bridle, which, when calmly borne, earned for the patient thrall a longevity of office, which the law could *not* grant, but the despot could.*

The duties, therefore, of such a mayor were to appear every morning respectful and submissive before the Nomarch or Eparch, and devotedly and silently listen to his wise and revered orders, all the while most complacently freezing if his Excellency felt cold, and perspiring if he felt warm; and then triumphantly proceed to his office to prepare the decrees necessary to remove all heine that those orders would entail upon the Government; after which, he convoked the municipal council, and haughtily and superciliously invited them to sign those decrees without murmur or procrastination, which those delegates knew would be of no avail, especially whenever it was thought necessary in the high regions to have a decree eulogizing the policy in general of the Government, or a given measure as highly patriotic, or damning every thought or word or deed of the

* The communal council of Syra, to which I have the honour to belong, denies to the administrative the power of vetoing the decrees of such councils concerning the communal budget, and reforming them by antidecretals. We maintain that the constitution has tacitly abrogated that part of the communal law, it being in conflict with the principle of self-government consecrated by the fundamental law—a principle that cannot be enforced without full independence and decentralization of the communes. The Home Minister, however, insists upon interpreting the law as if the old *régime* were still in power.

opposition against so humane, civilized, paternal, and liberal an administration.

This was the glorious communal system to which Mr. Finlay devoted a page of his book on Greece, and which he extols to welkin height that both the contemporaries and posterity may contemplate and admire it.

In so doing was he inveigled by its framer's name? If so, the deception must be as galling to him as those satanical laws were injurious to us, for the least attention on his part would have enabled him to discover that they could not be allowed to appear unmasked; a euphemism, therefore, was needful to gild over and sweeten the surface of their hideous and poisonous essence, and none more emphatic than that of *Abel*, for the works of *Cain*, whose loimic virus has tinged even their admirer's pen, and ever since shows him a cruel and sarcastic Mischellene, whereas he is as kind a Philhellene as any prejudiced mortal may be.

And yet that institution was but the ground-floor of the whole edifice: let us examine it all.

Above that floor were erected the provincial councils, and the state council, which, having no decretal authority, but only an opinative one, gave no trouble whatever to the administration. But as every authority should join in praising the one temporal lord, even those councils, and especially the state council, were trained to docility and pliability by means still more alluring or cogent than those employed for the installation of the communal authorities.

The loyal state councillor could and did become a Minister or a Nomarch, or one of the highest officials of the state; paid ✓ his taxes rarely or never; obtained public places for his sons and kinsmen; placed a throng of aspirants under his wing; and, on the ground of his being a favourite at court, claimed a variety of privileges, which it were sorrowful to record. The unloyal was disqualified from holding a public place, which was denied to his children and kinsmen and friends also; he should instantly pay his taxes, or suffer the consequences; the privileges of his colleagues were encroaching upon his rights, and he must crouch under the encroachment, for there was worse than that for him in store; and, if he ultimately succeeded in forming a majority supporting his bare opinion, he was characterized a traitor and treated as such, not judicially—this was immaterial—but politically and socially, which was far more annoying and prejudicial.

And here the bountifulness of our lawgiver had been exhausted as regards the legislative power, by which it was said that the nation was represented, and which, instead of being a check to the executive, was destined to be its menial.

Next came the judiciary. Critical statesmanship and the praxis of Ancient Greece, and, to some extent, of this country and of the United States of America also, require it, as it has been said, to contain the leading men of the nation, and to possess illimited power of interpreting and enforcing the law, and thus guide both the legislative and the executive, and refrain their desultory impulses, and consequently to aid the sovereign power, when irresponsible and unfactionous, to fulfil its supreme task of interfering among conflicting parties effectively, and, by confiding the administration to the preponderant party, to preserve that peace among citizens, without which every people must fall under the sway of unprogressive despotism.

That praxis was introduced in the two opposite corners of Europe by two as eminent men as ever lived—by Theseus in Athens, and by Alfred the Great in this country, who, being a genius himself, unawares met with the genius of the Athenian lawgiver.

Another sovereign, great for his good fortune, and for many of his military exploits, as well as because great likewise, are the leading men not only among the philosophers, or followers of the *superior reason*, but also among sophists or practitioners of the *inferior reason*—that sovereign, Charlemagne—inclined by nature towards centralization, subjected both justice and religion to despotism: justice, by the founding of the secret inquisition, and an unqualified and subservient *personnel*; and religion, by first effectively upholding the spiritual elevation of the chief of the clergy, and then by recognizing and supporting the tottering temporal power of that chief, who since then has ever been the main sustenance of every sovereign despotically ruling in the east and south of Europe, his power being greater than that of a standing army and the secret inquisition, the other two indispensable organs of despotism.

Between these two systems, which since world is world have ever been in conflict, now under this and now under that form, the Bavarian lawgiver had to adopt one, a third one being impossible; for it is equally impossible to the King of Prussia to be despotic, as it is to the Emperor of France to co-exist with self-government, when the communal and provincial administration, and religion, and, therefore, the army itself, are tending to centralization in France and to decentralization in Prussia.*

* Last July, when the Senator Morny spoke in favour of the irresponsibility of the Emperor, I asked a French barrister, who felt sure that that principle would be, in spite of the letter of the Constitution adopted by the Emperor, whether the Judiciary's jurisdiction and standing would be widened and enhanced, the secret and lengthy judiciary inquests done away with, and the standing army reduced, eloigned from Paris and prohibited from interfering in

A single glance, howsoever inattentive, will convince the critic that our lawgiver faithfully followed the footprints of Charlemagne; and well he might, for the battle of Sadowa had not yet happened to shatter, as it now has, the form of despotism under which the continent of Europe principally, and this country to a great extent, but for a shorter time, were governed.

The civil part of the judiciary's mission was circumscribed within certain limits, behind which stood, and even now stand, eight different administrative jurisdictions vested with judicial power. The Nomarchs have one; the Financial Ephors another; the Collectors of Custom-Duties a third; the Demarchs a fourth; the Treasurers a fifth; the Sanitary Inspectors a sixth; the Inspectors of Public Works a seventh; and the Harbour-Masters the last. If a case belonging to one of these jurisdictions were to be brought before the judiciary, the judge ought to decline it. If he did not, the Nomarch invited him to desist; and his dismissal and subjection to trial for exceeding his jurisdiction would be the consequence of his disobedience.

It is needless to remark that the administrative jurisdiction was instituted to legalize the favours conferred upon loyal subjects, and the disfavour shown to the disloyal, which could not be effected otherwise but through secrecy and absence of all discussion, which are the characteristics of that jurisdiction.

But the criminal part of that institution proves, as clearly as can be, that it was destined to be only a tool of the administrative. Prosecution for any given crime emanates nominally from the Courts of Appeal, but virtually from the King's Attorneys-General, who with the Areopagus, one above him, and those under him in the districts, were, as appropriately denominated, the sharpest organs of central power. On the ground of a complaint, or a private denunciation, or an official report or order *ex officio*, the district attorney, who is the chief of the judicial inquiry, orders the inquiring *judge*, or the magistrates of peace, or the mayors and their assessors, or the inspectors of police, or the commissioned and *non-commissioned* officers of the gendarmery—who all are his officers—to open a judicial inquest as to this or that crime. Such an inquest is secret to both the public and the person accused, whether of felony or misdemeanor, or a mere police contravention; and it may last any length of time, provided some act of inquiry be made inter-

police matters, that the Emperor might have a new power on which to count before adopting new measures. My worthy colleague, however, engrossed as it seems he was by the Latin notions regarding balance of power, replied that the standing army could neither be reduced nor cornered. To which I rejoined that the Emperor could not, even if he wished it, under such circumstances, become irresponsible, for if he had done so, somebody else would be found to assume both responsibility and supreme power.

rupting the annual, biennial, quinquennial, or decennial prescription.

In every ease of felony, the accused becomes a prisoner for whom no bail is admitted;* and in many cases of simple misdemeanor, personal arrest is inevitable unless bail can be given, which may be rendered nugatory by the exigencies of the bail-bond. Thus the prisoner can obtain neither trial nor liberty, if his case be such as to justify procrastination, and, howsoever virtuous the Greek judge may be, few are the cases that do not, since the co-operation of a variety of elements of the administrative, the commercial, the military, and the judiciary, is necessary to bring an inquest to an end; and since each of those elements may, through the secrecy of the proceedings, almost with impunity either tantalize and incriminate an innocent, or palliate and exculpate a guilty prisoner.

Nor could the trial by jury enhance in the least the judiciary thus organized, and bridled as it was under the suppressed *régime*, for if it condemned the loyal subject, the administrative had the means of destroying the verdict by pardoning the convict; and if it acquitted the disloyal, the administrative had a thousand ways to torment him.

There was, then, neither a legislative to represent the nation, nor a judiciary to shield the people's rights against despotism. The press was stifled to silence; meetings were criminal; and discussion was put a stop to by the police as soon as commenced. Sovereignty was, therefore, exclusively bestowed upon the monarch, who exercised it through the omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent executive.

Had it been honestly and frankly bestowed, there would have been a numerous class of people warmly supporting the monarch's privileges, while being attacked by the more numerous class claiming a judicious and practical representation and self-government; but the duplicity and cunning that characterized the bestowal, and the vile and flagitious wickedness that designated the exercise, could not fail from weaning the affections of the people from their sovereign, in whom they fondly but vainly hoped to find a paternal ruler.

"That ignominious system must be done away with, any how," exclaimed the patriot, and his voice was echoed from every corner of Greece.

It was hard for the Greek to come to so rash a resolution, especially not long after violence had shortened the days of his great countryman, who so much contributed to the regeneration

* By our present Constitution, bail is admitted only for crimes of a political nature.

of Greece; but it was harder still, that after having through unparalleled sufferings and sacrifice expiated the sins, which were inseparable from his mission of opposing barbarity, he should be condemned to suffer first from the involuntary faults of a paternal ruler, and then from the wilful injury inflicted by a foreign lawgiver.

Besides, he was neither blamable nor responsible for that misrule; blamable was the stranger, and responsible was the English statesman, who denounced the partiality and despotism of Count Capodistria, and yet conferred the Greek crown on the Bavarian prince without at least indicating the policy to be pursued in the framing of the Greek constitution.

No doubt the truthful English critic will say: "How could we do it so long as we kept the Ionians under the curb of a double rein—so long as every power but the judicial was as great a mockery as if a tyrant meant to parodize the English constitution?"

Nor can any one gainsay such remarks; but on the other hand it is uncharitable on the part of those who blame us for our misrule, when the whole of Europe had compulsorily instituted a school of politics in which nothing but spying, and denouncing, and reporting, and persecuting the disloyal, although good, and protecting the loyal, although wicked, was taught by a mutual instruction which made the hands of pupils foul, and left the hands of teachers clean.

It is ungenerous on their part to boast that the English statesmen befriended us, but we did not profit, when far from aiding us to obtain an honest and suitable constitution, they abetted our despot by dismissing the first Lord High Commissioner that wished to deal liberally with the Ionians.

It is unjust to characterize us corrupt and indifferent to political liberties, when twice a unanimous and bloodless rising was effected to root out the corrupting and illiberal system that the stranger, availing himself of our ignorance, had been planting in our soil under the eyes of our enlightened friends. It is cruel to accuse us of having neglected our judiciary when they know that what we have is the work of a lawgiver chosen by the English Government, and that while it was being completed the Ionian Islands were in possession of a judiciary ranking higher in the scale of criticism than any other, but the English, in Europe; and yet the English diplomatists and statesmen, both in 1843 and 1862, omitted to insist upon the enactment of the supremacy of justice, by which, as by magic, Greece would become a healthy country, as able to pace the career that her interests and those of civilization and European equilibrium expect from her, as the robust man would be after the draining of a marshy soil in which he lived and suffered.

Nor do we deserve reproach for having twice had the opportunity of compiling a correct constitution, and twice failed. English statesmen have never said, as all enlightened patrons are bound to do to aid an unenlightened *protégé*, that a constitutional government, with a meddlesome standing army, and no very prominent judiciary, is no more genuine representative and liberal than an unconstitutional government without such an army and with a pre-eminent judiciary is despotic. On the contrary, they all agreed in eulogizing the maxim of our lawgiver: "English liberties through the French crucible." Hence the English diplomatists who superintended the compilation of our constitution in 1843 and 1862 laid every stress on the necessity of forming a Senate (which dethroned King Otho), but none on that of raising our judiciary, which, if originally elevated, would have saved that king by chastising all sycophants, and protecting the people against their intrigues.

On the eve of the framing of the present constitution, Mr. Elliot's attention was drawn by me to this necessity, but I was sorry to find that he, although fully penetrated by the remarks, relied on the Ionian delegates for the adoption of those principles, which, I am afraid, that able and kind diplomatist was, from the want of special instructions from head-quarters, and the worrying of a disgustingly intriguing colleague of another legation, compelled to relinquish as soon as they that were then in power, unawares believing in the orthodoxy of the political creed of Charlemagne, said to him: "We do as they do in France," which was the answer given to Sir Thomas Wyse by the ministers of King Otho not long before his dethronement, when the eminent and sincerely Philhellenic diplomatist and politician denounced the pernicious effects of the secret inquiry in judicial matters, through which a British subject had been submitted to trial for having knocked down the robber that snatched his watch from his person, and yet escaped a trial by avowing that he had only picked it up from the ground where it had fallen, but did not give it to the owner, he having been struck while picking it up.

Unfortunately, the Ionian delegates, although eminently clever administrators and officials, were almost as unskilled as those of Greece proper, in statesmanship, for neither the latter nor the former had ever had an opportunity of studying the mechanism of self-government, power having been absorbed in Greece by the monarch, and in the Ionian Islands by the Lord High Commissioner, and those rulers having found its balance in Greece through violence and corruption, and in the Ionian Islands through violence alone, the English bayonets rendering corruption needless, and requiring only mockery to carry on a sham

representation, which a great man—Lord Seaton—put an end to by granting real self-government, the precursor, not only of annexation of those islands to Greece, but of momentous events also, forcing the renitent statesman to act, and the reticent to speak.

Had Earl Russell seen the *absolute* necessity of first endeavouring to correct our constitution, and then protecting it against violence and corruption; had his lordship's dispatch, containing the conditions on which the Ionian Islands were annexed, been more categorical as to the requisites of a representative government: Mr. Elliot or Mr. Scarlett would have succeeded to give a *civil* essence and form to our polity, for the Ionians, on whom it depended to negative or adopt any bill, and who, indeed, protested against the abolition of publicity in judicial inquests, would, supported by the British minister's dispatch, compel the accidental or incompetent statesmen of those days to acknowledge that the judiciary must not, after the French theory and practice, be only an order of the executive.

Far from us be the intention of inveighing against that or any other statesman for having omitted to give us his advice on a subject far more important than others, on which it was *ex-postulatorily* given. We only complain, and we believe with justice, against those who blame us for our misgovernment as being the result of corruption, when it is only the result of foreign inculcation and bias coupled with our ignorance, which our friends did nothing to extricate us from, and which we, although unaided, strive to dispel.

Already have we discovered that the bill of rights inserted in the Charter of 1843 was imperfect, and we hastened to fill up the gap by protecting more effectively the liberty of the press and the right of assembling in *meetings* and *associations*, and that of arming the citizens, and by fixing the time when judges must be appointed for life; but we have not yet discovered the imperative necessity of rendering our constitution civil instead of hybrid as it now is. How could we?

The French, and German, and Italian, whose example lies on our threshold, and than whom we, unfortunately, place no other nation higher in the scale of civilization, are all less civil than we, they having great and meddlesome standing armies, a judiciary as low and circumscribed in jurisdiction as ours is, and a much smaller amount of liberty. It is, therefore, natural that we should imitate their example, especially as regards the standing army, we having imprescriptible rights to vindicate, sacred duties to fulfil, and indelible wrongs to avenge. Unfortunately this reasoning is greatly corroborated by the gorgeous and poetical array of the military government, which, against our

pamphleteer's opinion, is relished most in modern times, the ancients having much more appreciated the homely and prosaic raiment of a civil government.

For all these reasons, and for a last one, which is not the least—i. e., that the military element had a prominent and highly patriotic part in all our revolutions—the framing of a purely civil constitution is a difficulty almost bordering on the impossible.

And yet so long as it is neither civil nor military, so long as it is but a mongrel one, we shall continue labouring under as insuperable a political dead-lock as nature evinces by its mongrel creatures.

It has been often repeated that a great man, not long since deceased, said he could well conceive the idea of a democratic or a despotic, but not of a constitutional government; but either he that said it was not great, or they that heard him misunderstood him. He may have said that a government cannot be both civil and military simultaneously, without obstinately clashing ever so long as neither of them gives way: this we can perfectly understand. But it is an error to think that a civil government is incompatible with the recognition of privileged classes or individuals. As soon as the latter have laid down arms, and admit the authority of the people to extend sovereignty to the extreme end of the periphery, or restrain it to the centre by legal means, they create a *sui generis* government, differing both from the despotic, which denies all sovereignty to the people, and from the democratic, which admits of no privileges in classes or individuals. Luckily, we have no privileged classes to cope with or to uphold; we have only one privileged individual, the King, whom none but a mongrel government can injure, he being the representative not only of liberated Greece but of every Greek, wherever he may be. But a Government that is both civil and military evinces an acknowledged and legal division of the people and state, and authorizes strife, and exposes the King to an insuperable danger arising both from his siding with one of the conflicting parties, *and* from his denying his co-operation to either of them.

Our position is as critical as that of the French in 1789 and 1830. Twice had they, as we, the opportunity of embracing self-government, and both times they, as we, failed, for they lost themselves in unspontaneous display of lore and inventive powers; but as regards their liberties, they only thought of forging tongues and chains to be employed against the tyrants, which, however, were used to mangle and manacle each other.

Twice have we likewise, from ignorance and from want of good advice, witnessed such internecine strife. May God forbid

its repetition: but "*σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει*" is a good advice, and it is still living in Greece under the Christian form of "*Ἄγιε Γεώργιε, βοήθει μοι*"—"Χὲς Σέις καὶ σὺ τοὺς πόδας σου." Nor is the Greek unwilling or slow to move; the question is what path to beat. Two paths are still open before us: that of a real and that of a mock self-government. A third one may be opened if the strife end in the triumph of the latter, which no King can celebrate in Greece—the ancient and mediæval cradle of liberalism; and the triumphs of the former cannot be achieved without the King's co-operation, and the good advice and aid of one of the great powers. But which is that power? France, Russia, and Germany would be inconsistent if they suggested abroad what they cannot perform at home. The United States of America will not yet be convinced that they have a duty to aid those with whom in every respect they sympathize. England, soritically represented by the Exchange, is bent upon wasting money to save what has been lent to the Turks, and cross at the idea of the ridicule which the *fiasco* of such a policy will call forth: whence, then, is help to be tendered to us at a time when a "friend in need" is more than ever the true friend, for nothing can be done on earth without mutual aid?

Thus, placed in difficulties that hang over him that strives to rise, and yet unbefriended but by the insincere, how can we progress in our career? Could England progress in 1688 without the presence of congenial aid? No more can we.

In such a state of things none can pledge that the efforts of the patriots will not be foiled by the force of circumstances; that the expectations of the people will not be balked; and that the cause of national freedom and sovereignty will not suffer, since England—the only power that commends the constitutional policy, and proclaimed the necessity of upholding Hellenism—England is impassible to our impulses towards improving our constitution, and inimical to our tendencies towards completing the unity and independence of our nation.

This is the reason why we are misgoverned. It is strong enough, but there is another which is stronger still. We have a neighbour with whom we cannot and will not be on friendly terms, such is the horror that his very name rouses in the heart of every Greek, and the more our nation progresses the more sensitive we become and indignant at the sight of the barbarous neighbour still holding our territory and tyrannizing our brethren, whose sufferings cannot fail to divert our attention from home matters, and draw it on the sufferers.

But this is not all. The impossibility of entering into a good understanding with such a neighbour, coupled with the interrupted intercourse which is caused by the proximity of the

two states and by the absence of natural boundaries—these two causes destroy all safety of property and person; for crime, finding a safe asylum on the borders, boldly infests not only the neighbouring provinces, but the Chersonese also and Eubœa.

It was in Corinth that two gentlemen were seized while travelling, and in Chalcis was Miss B. captured: but it was not in Corinth and Chalcis that they were released, the brigands having reached the borders in less than two days.

Hence the main cause of misgovernment, and the only cause of brigandage, is our mainland neighbour.

The proof of this assertion becomes palpable after having cast a glance first on the islands of the Archipelago which are unconnected with the borders, and then on the provinces adjacent to the Turkish state. The former not only are free from brigandage, the scourge of our country, but also keep pace with the most civilized peoples in the world: whereas the latter are condemned to exhaust all their forces in coping against barbarity in vain.

Nor is this the opinion of only one individual: the leading men of Syra share it, and expressed it, when we were invited by the Central Government and the Nomarchs to account for the unprogressive state of industry in the interior of Greece, although we at the same time admitted that, besides our borders, our constitution also wanted mending.

This is what every one claiming or assuming to be not a Philhellene, but simply just, ought to report to his Government, or principal, or friend. To indulge in facetious sarcasms, misstating and misinterpreting the acts and intentions of those earnestly sacrificing themselves to improve their condition, is an irrefragable proof of either a narrow and low mind and a barren and wanton heart, or of a wicked premeditation to injure the Greek nation.

Correction through amusement is relishable only when all parties—both the correcting and the corrected—are merry: and even then many prefer serious admonition. But when it is addressed to the afflicted with false or imperfect statements, and erroneous or slanderous explanations, it is either satanical or at least stolid. Some such people find fault with us because we have a better charter than the French, and yet we do not govern ourselves as well. But without denying, as I might, that assertion, I ask them, do they first expect to see the confusion that will happen in France, when, after the decay of England, the French will miss the luxuries which they now indulge in, and then believe that their happy state is not the result of their administration, but of their proximity to this country, which is as great in the world from its universal and insular, and, therefore,

safe and commercial situation, as Syra is great in the Archipelago for locally possessing those requisites? To ascribe to the English or the French Administration the merit of being the source of all the blessings those nations enjoy, would be tantamount to us Syriotes claiming the merit of having elevated our community higher than any other in Greece, whereas it is the insular and central, and, therefore, safe and commercial Syra, that allows its inhabitants to step firmly in the ways of civilization.

Others blame us for endeavouring to acquire more territory when what we have has not yet been cultivated. But they forget that every other nation did what we and every other race are now doing, it being equally impossible to a nation to progress when its neighbours are barbarians and their land is neglected, as it is to a landowner to cultivate his fields properly and to mow a rich harvest if his neighbours are marauders injuring his crop, and their land is but a field of tares ready to fly into his property and stifle the germination of useful seeds. They forget that England itself could not progress before subduing both Scotland and Ireland, the far less affined by origin and by tongue, and that for not having fully effected the assimilation there is much trouble at hand, and there will be much more to apprehend hereafter.

Nor is Hesiod's plough in any way instrumental to our imperfections. The Wallachians have long ago adopted the steam-plough, and yet their politics are worse than ever. Besides, a deeper plough would suit us only if we intended becoming a corn-growing people, but as we no more mean giving up the tree and shrub for grain, than the directors of the Kew Gardens think of giving up their rare plants for beetroots or potatoes, we can use no other plough to till the gravelly land that must remain unplanted. This remark should have occurred to the *Times*' own correspondent, especially it being based on two authorities: that of ancient Greek wisdom, claiming to be *a little better* than the contemporary critics can boast of; and that of the English that ruled the Ionian Islands. Among those rulers we knew several highly qualified to give advice; but, although they kindly gave it as regards many branches of agriculture, and more especially vintage, they never found fault with our plough, which they saw to be the most adapted for the soil on which we use it.

But what must we say to the worthy correspondent of the *Times* maintaining that the cattle employed in tilling the land is worse than the plough itself, and that the population is almost decreasing?

Had he said that the Greek husbandman can spare none of

his good oxen for the market, he would have said the truth ; but the assertion that he has not the means of feeding them is both untrue and inconsistent, for the waste land in Greece is full of pasture.

Had he said that the conscription law is so heinous with the Greeks, that conscripts will either maim or expatriate themselves sooner than serve, he would have said the truth ; but to say that there is hardly any increase in our population when upwards of 3000 villages, fifty towns, and ten capitals have been built in forty years, is equivalent to asserting that those buildings are made to be inhabited by the owl.

But that is certainly not their destination, it being positive that the population is much greater than it is represented to be by mayors, who are also, through inaccurate censuses, co-operating in the mitigation of the conscription law. The last census but one, assigned to the Cyclades a population of 144,000 souls, and the last, only 139,000 ; and yet the six larger islands out of the eighteen exceed that number, for we must, without counting the fluctuating population, assign to

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Syra | 30,000 |
| Andras | 30,000 |
| Naxos | 25,000 |
| Tenos | 25,000 |
| Thera (Santorin) and | 25,000 |
| Paros | 8,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 143,000 |

By the new census the population will be found smaller still, on account of the absurdity of the new law measuring presumptive income-taxes from the population of the place where a trade or profession is carried on. But the political reporter ought to be aware of all this, and frame his statements accordingly : else he will find himself not only stared at by protesting facts, but also amazed by inconsistencies precluding the credibility of his reports, especially if he be apt or inclined to relieve this and distort that in order to obtain a clashing inconsistency.

Luckily the *Times*' own correspondent has afforded us the means of maintaining our position as regards the untrustworthiness of those reports.

By his last letter the epigrammatic and able writer endeavours to prove, through Earl Russell's communications to the Greek Government prohibiting "an aggressive policy towards Turkey," that either the assertion made by the pseudonymous "Digamma," that Mr. Elliot was instructed to inform us that England would see with pleasure the annexation of Epirus and

Thessaly, is untrue, or that there has been some double dealing on the part of the English Government.

Now we venture to say that neither "Digamma's" assertion is untrue, nor Lord Palmerston's and Earl Russell's demeanour insincere.

We ignore the source whence "Digamma" has his information; but ours is as authentic as can be, for not only did Lord Palmerston say to the Greek gentlemen that thanked his lordship for the annexation of the Ionian Islands, "he hoped that Turkey would imitate the example of England by giving up the provinces adjacent to Greece," but Earl Russell also repeatedly expressed that wish both orally and in writing.

Nor is there a shade of inconsistency between these papers and that prohibiting "an aggressive policy towards Turkey," the latter having the most serious consequences in the international relations of European nations, which the pacific annexation of any number of adjacent provinces could not have, for all nations, but the Russian, aim at supplanting Turkey quietly.

Had the worthy reporter viewed facts in that light, he would have abstained from the mischief he is now doing by precluding all possibility of England's consenting to a pacific annexation of any province held by the Turks to Greece, which even now is inaccurate, Lord Stanley never having told Sir Peter Braila, our truthful and highly-accomplished diplomatic representative, that he would be loth to see Crete annexed to Greece; and there being strong reasons inducing one to believe that the English Government would rejoice in its annexation, if it could be effected without compulsion on their part against Turkey. This is what reports favourable to Turkey and palatable to the Turcophiles are worth.

They either intentionally or accidentally contribute to encourage the latter to become the English nation's spokesmen, and then enjoin us to be quiet as if we were disturbing the circles of the philosopher of Syracuse.

Luckily, however, neither are they employed in so ethereal speculations, nor are we troublesome to the good.

Were they not allured by false interests, they would not only applaud but aid us also for not lying supine and waiting the Muscovite's descent to Constantinople to begin our career.

Nothing easier and more materially profitable to us, and more noxious to every other European nation, than such a line of conduct on our part; and yet we shun it, and pursue a course promising that moral satisfaction, which all the advantages accruing to the Ionians from British protection could nohow countervail. Such a policy is commended by all; but no sooner did we rise to realize it in part, than the Turcophiles, assuming to

represent this country, but representing only their ill-understood interests, imprecate all evil upon us, and repent of having contributed to the consummation of a poetical deed in politics—the deed of our independence—which, say they, was by a great man characterized as an *untoward event*.

No doubt the man that uttered those words was great, but only as a general; though, even as such, not half so great as the English army and the English nation are. But had he been as great as Alexander, or Cæsar, or Napoleon, he would only be provincially great, for as a statesman he repeatedly proved he had no claim to be called great.

Besides the Duke of Wellington gave that designation, not to the independence of Greece, but to the battle of Navarino, which might have been avoided by the adoption of other measures leading to that independence.

But be it how it will, Greece once more exists, and is determined either to acquire a standing on earth, or perish.

We do not exclaim:

“Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.”

Far less do we say:

“Καὶ ζῶντος ἐμοῦ, γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.”

Wishing happiness to all, we will persist claiming what belongs to us, for the realization of our right is useful to all civilized nations. If we therefore succeed, all they will be glad; if we do not, our ill-success will be followed by consequences affecting either us only, or the Western Powers also. If they foresee the first, their impassibility, if not persecution, is a sound policy; if the latter, it is that impassibility that they must blame, and not our doings. The ages bear evidence that our model is not the man of whom the German poet said that—

“Was er schuf zerstört er wieder,”

but the man of whom Sophocles sang as being the most wonderful of wonders in nature, ready to overstep all obstacles by land and by sea, while in search of the better, and beyond belief able to invent, though also liable to abut now on good and now on evil. Our detractors, therefore, may spare their inuendoes for others; as regards us they may be sure they may call us Russolaters, or fickle, or vanitous, or fastidious, or anything else they please; they may compose any number of centos, containing not just imputations, or at least platitudes and truisms, but sheer and simple slander, and we shall nevertheless continue bestowing our *political* affection on those that aid us, and our disaffection on those that injure us, by loving the former as if it were pro-

bable to hate them, and hating the latter as if likely to love them.

Were we not certain that Philhellenism will come to us again all in a gust from this country, we should say in the words of the poet than whom no land ever produced a greater :

“ O England !—model to thy inward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart,—
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,
Were all thy children kind and natural !
But see thy fault ! The Turk hath found in thee
A nest of hollow bosoms, which he fills
With treacherous crowns—”

But as we are certain of that, we appeal to the superior and impartial judgment of this nation against those of its real or assumptive representatives, who, becoming bulky only through that title, fall upon us to crush us with that bulk.

Could any people after many centuries' oppression and exhaustion, both physical and moral, do more than we have done in thirty-four years, when even during this time we were avowedly misruled, and when we were treated as tyroes, unentitled to utter and even have an opinion of our own ?

Is it just on the part of our detractors to heap upon us the wilful and unwilful faults of the Bavarian lawgivers and administrators ?

Is it charitable on their part to vilify us for non-fulfilment of pecuniary obligations, which Earl Russell's very document, protecting our constitution from any further violence or fraud, allows we never had an opportunity of fulfilling ?

Can any state boast of being a truly representative one and self-governed if the executive hold a prominent part and the judiciary only a secondary and subservient one ?

Are we to blame for not having lowered our executive and elevated our judiciary, since the only statesmen that could suggest sound advice—the English—never said to us that the French constitution works only in France, and even there badly enough, and since the mighty host of flatterers of despotism eulogize that system as being the only perfect one on earth ?

Is it fair to accuse us of countenancing brigandage, when our neighbours and our neighbourhood impart to it the hydra's power of growing two heads, while the people and not the government can only cut off one ?

Is it politic on one hand to endeavour to civilize the East in order to rouse its sensitiveness against all aggression, and on the other to throw every obstacle in the way of the Greek element by which alone the East may be civilized ?

Is not the policy of forcing Greece to motionlessness although

she is so ill-bounded, of countenancing a mongrel government in her, and of endeavouring to create a mongrel nationality in Turkey, blighting the Greek's prospects—is not this (which is the plan of quasi-official English statesmanship) a hindrance fatal to Hellenism, and still more fatal to English interests?

Let the wise of this country maturely examine all these questions, and if their verdict should contain one single affirmative we shall sorrowfully but frankly say to our detractors that they are right in claiming that we should be quiet, for we are doomed to be, not a *sui generis* tree, fruitful and blooming, but one of the grafts that daily variegate and magnify the tree, which, watered by the Moskwa, extends its roots far and wide; not a self-existent nation, but a tribe of the Slavonic, headed as it is by the Muscovite.

If not, we may then be permitted to tell those gentlemen that they grossly abuse civilization and humanity, and the real interests of their country, by their immoderate affection for the Turk.

Indeed, had the voice of the wise been heard, also, in this province of science—for a science, and the most intricate, is statesmanship—sound opinions would then be more prevalent than now, when the competent but selfish mislead this nation with impunity, and, chuckling on their success, congratulated each other by exclaiming:

“Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὅμοια,
Ἴδμεν δ', εἴτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθεία μυθήσασθαι;”

and when microscopical earthlings strive to appear gigantic by blotting out the ages, and ponderously brooding over their pen-built chaos to hatch a monstrous nation—a chimera more fire-spouting than Bellerophon could brave.

But, unfortunately, this nation, though the first on earth as regards analysis and materials, is only secondary in synthesis, plasticity, and method.

Nothing is unknown to this nation, and everything has been improved or is being well preserved; but, whether it be that such a bulk is too unwieldy to be handled into a new plasma, or that commerce, the parent of disquisition, and the organ of concentration and diffusion, diverts the mind of most people from inventing the most felicitous combinations: it is, nevertheless, true that plasticity is more ingenious on the other side of the Atlantic, and, as regards the fine arts, on the other side of the Channel, than on this side.*

Nor is this deficiency confined only in the sphere of science and art: it extends also in legislative and administrative matters,

* Vide Note sub No. 1 in the Appendix.

as regards which England is on the point of doing what they do on the Continent, which will increase the existing difficulties instead of obviating them.*

With such shortcomings as regards home policy, it is scarcely possible for the English statesman to adopt a wholesome policy as regards international relations, for even here commerce, the omnipotent, will injoin the instinct-favouring dogma, *laissez faire*, and will, therefore, reject every inventive impulse that does not directly feed its greed.

Had the wise of this country submitted to the inquiries of their associations the subjects of national and international government also, it would be now irrefragably clear that it is not given to every race to become *ad libitum* great; that the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxons flows, not only from their central and insular, and, therefore, safe and commercial abode, but also from their language and institutions, which, woven as they have been by the warp of the Teutonic and the woof of the Hellenic-Romanic emigrants, have opened a new home to those races, and attracted such an amount of immigrants as to render this land narrow and insufficient for both the number and the ends of its inhabitants, and to raise this race to a pitch from which, if united, they might claim universal dominion: for neither the Teutonic nor the Romanic races, although parental to the Anglo-Saxons, have any right to rank with their offspring, theirs not being a home agreeable or useful to any other race, or adapted for commercial purposes: they, therefore, cannot attract immigration, which is the only source of greatness and civilization: on the contrary, they have to apprehend the increase of emigration, whence they will decay and become subversively auxiliary to the Anglo-Saxons; that the Slavonic race is, from its numbers and youth and circumstances, the only one on earth, after the Anglo-Saxons, either attracting or forcing the surrounding tribes to embrace Slavism, and increase its bulk and enhance its pith, and thus render inevitable its expansion on more soil than it now holds, and eventually reach the dominant spot, if the four other races—the Hellenic, the Romanic, the Teutonic, and the Anglo-Saxon—the only affined by origin and interest, do not *all* coalesce to regulate the direction of Slavonic expansiveness; that the Anglo-Saxons on the other side of the Atlantic are virtually more powerful than the English: they being the flower of mankind, and ranking in general with that choir of great historical mortals in which Inachus holds the first place and Sir John Franklin the last: and constantly receiving fresh supplies of

* Vide Note sub No. 2 in the Appendix.

immigrants from every quarter, Great Britain not excepted : and affording them a much safer abode, and a wider sphere of action ; that in case of conflict between the two branches of that race the youngest will be the victor, its war materials being home-found and home-made, and its home safer than the rock : whereas those of the eldest branch, flowing, as they do, mainly from commerce, which is incompatible with such a maritime warfare, will soon be found too scanty to ensure success ; that no more can the continental races save *art* and *commerce* from abandoning Europe, if a long war be waged by the Americans against Europe, than the dead can supplant the living : nor does the unity of the Italians or of the Germans imply anything more than their presentiment that they must get rid of both clerical and laic despotism, and prepare for action against the domineering attitude of Panslavism ; that, hence, not only the fall, but also the least debasement of England will be inevitably followed by a political and social paralysis throughout the whole of Europe, and by the disappearance of the present crystallization, whose features are the lead that Europe takes in commerce and art, and a considerable amount of liberty more or less proportionately tempered by order, here and there bordering upon despotism, which both will be superseded by anarchy and confusion, and by the forfeiture of that lead until a new crystallization—consummated through Slavonic attraction, and therefore evincing a provincial art and an illiberal order—be enabled to dispel the unhappy state which it will be the doom of European peoples to prove when England shall decay ; that the elements contributing to such fatal changes being two—the American and the Slavonic—the former by the inevitable absorption of vital elements from the German, English and Latin nations : the latter, by avoidable indirect aggression, first through the Slaves in Turkey, and then by direct also : a traitor of his country is the European who rivets his attention on the necessity of stifling the universally growing pre-eminence of the Americans, or of acquiring a provincial pre-eminence, at the cost of Europe's becoming internecinal, exhausted, and bed-ridden, and in the meanwhile omits diverting Russian expansiveness from the European direction to the Asiatic, which may *only* be effected by enforcing and consummating the elevation of the Greek element, and neutralizing the Slavonic that borders on European Turkey.

All this is true and just, and all but this is untrue and unjust ; but the most untrue of all is our detractors' assertion that we are Russians, to which we oppose as signal proof of our intention to be Greeks, if we can, the disfavour shown by Russia to Count Capodistria and Prince Ypsilanti for having led the revolution towards the nation's independence, and not towards her own

suzerainty, which seemed to be Russia's wish. Thence it may easily be inferred that if, in 1821, our nation, although ignorant of its ancient ancestry, compelled its leaders to pursue a course of independence, in 1867, when out of the five names existing in each family three at least are ancient, it must aim at full restoration of all its sovereignty. But the queen of proofs is the confession of the Emperor Nicholas, assigning us a limited kingdom, and foreseeing that if the Western Powers had proposed to supplant Turkish sovereignty in Europe by the Greeks, we, although reluctantly and regretfully, would and ought to side with the West in every measure, should Russia oppose our progress.

More proofs than these we have none to offer our friends that we are Greeks and not Russians. If we do not succeed in persuading them we shall regret it, but nations are never affected by sentimentalism as individuals are.

If we do succeed, then sound logic and true science will at once discern the right from the wrong course, and will correct the faults that have been committed.

Luckily for us the high-placed men that rule the great nations have been taught in the school of facts to alter their policy repeatedly; they will, therefore, evince no reluctance to acquiesce in the necessity of once more confessing that "to err is human," for the more this truth is acknowledged, the more he who acknowledges it proves to be great.

To save the European equilibrium from perishing, three things must be effected:—

1. The gradual withdrawal of the Turkish Government from Europe;
- 2 Its supersession by the Greek; and
3. The neutralization of the Slavonic tribes existing in European Turkey.

The author of the "Notes on Turkey" fancies millions of Turks, and fearful massacres against them on this side of the Empire, and horrible retaliation meted out on the Asiatic side. All these are imaginary fears, for none ever fancied of suggesting the expulsion of the Turks, or the immediate withdrawal of their Government. A code of civil and political laws levelling all privileges ought to be first framed, and published only in two languages: that of the invader, and that of the invaded—the Greeks; and the expounding and enforcement of those laws should be entrusted to subjects knowing both languages.

By this means in less than five years Greek sovereignty would virtually subdue the few Turks that reside in Europe, and this effect would be caused by mere attraction: that attraction which our consular tribunals in Turkey exercised on the Turks, and, despite of the capitulations, induced them to submit to our juris-

diction for an impartial and just decision, which Turkish ministers found so humbling of their self-love as to deserve being prohibited by comminations implying the expulsion of the Greek authorities.

Nor would the above measure of confining the Turks' sovereignty within the Asiatic boundaries and extending ours import the weakening of both, and, therefore, the necessity on the part of the Western Powers to support two weak sovereigns instead of one. On the contrary, the admission and realization of that principle would prove wholesome to both, for the Turks would no longer be placed in a cross fire whose most destructive missiles are darted by us, having the right to do so; and we would no longer exhaust our vital resources, as we now do, to overthrow the invader, but would employ the means accruing from our extended sovereignty to enhance our condition and cement such a good understanding between the two Governments as would unflinching check, or at least slacken, the momentum of Russian impetus.

In the meantime the revision and regulation of our boundaries, and, on such an occasion, the remodelling of our constitution, are indispensable.

That regulation ought to be such as to bring into Greece all the Albanian element, and place us in contact with the Slavonic, towards the western or the Epirotic side, and comprise at least Thessaly on the northern. Thus we should have only one weak point to strengthen—that which would have bordered upon Turkey proper; and as even this task would be irksome enough, the legislation of the two states should be, at least as regards the judiciary, framed on the same model and in the same language as the Greek.

Without such a disposal of things, the troubles and difficulties will, increasing, show that the name of modern Greece was written on the water, which seems slightly rippled from that writing, until the Russian surge cause such a tempest as will efface all but a sad remembrance of our nation—a remembrance which, should such be the solution of the Eastern Question, will ever rouse the indignation of every civilized people against those whose selfishness or sloth would be the efficient and proximate cause of such effects, tainting the best page of contemporary history, and proving that dwarfs were allowed to perform the task of giants.

Nor would the policy of neutralizing the above part of the Slavonic element be found impracticable or unjust, for only then would it acquire importance when united to Russia: but as, when, in 1854, the Austrian statesman frankly declared that Germany would oppose every Russian attempt to encroach upon the Danube, his declaration met with a favourable reception

among nations, for the same reason, the policy tending to hinder the union of the Slavonic races on Greek soil will be deemed just, for should the views of Pan Slavism be fully realized the Danube will no longer be German. Besides, for such a result we require nothing more than the adoption of the first two measures—viz., Turkey's withdrawal from Europe, and our restoration.

But these measures relate only to the future of Greece; in the meantime, others should be at once adopted paving the way to that future.

Crete should at any cost be annexed to us, for *nothing* can restore tranquillity but *its* annexation, and give vent to the electricity that fills the political atmosphere of the East, and justify the revisal of the constitution from which alone the internal harmony and peace will flow.

The remodelling of the constitution ought to enact a civil representative government, based on—

1. A totally decentralized communal system ;
2. An improved legislative, with responsible ministers and an irresponsible sovereign ;*
3. A high judiciary ;
4. A well organized police ;
5. A model or skeleton army, with a compulsory national guard ;
6. A skeleton navy, with a progressive steam navigation company ;
7. A new system of taxation ;
8. A improved yet simple administrative system.†

No doubt such measures are indispensable but, under present circumstances, they are not sufficient. As, notwithstanding our having sacrificed a scapegoat, carrying all our sins away, we are again sinners through our imperfect constitution ; as, notwithstanding the annexation, the Ionians are not yet prosperous, they having gained morally, but lost the protection of property and person that the English protectorate alone could give to an insular state : in a like manner, good laws alone will not suffice to ensure good government, without a revision and better regulation of our boundaries.

Hence it is clear that the answer given us by present statesmen, that they will withhold their support from us so long as we do not govern ourselves well, is not reasonable, it being the result of the circle-begging syllogism that we might have good government if we chose, whereas we maintain, with past and contempo-

* Should these two be adopted while Europe has still the force of carrying them out, Russian expansiveness must take another direction.

† Vide Note sub No. 3 in the Appendix.

rary history on our side, that good government is incompatible with bad neighbours and bad boundaries.

The utmost, therefore, that may be expected of us, is not to relapse under the British protectorate, or the Bavarian dynasty; this expectation we promise not to disappoint, although we are, from the identity of interests, both willing and bound to be on the most friendly terms with both the Germanic and the English as well as with the Latin element.

But it is not the policy advocated by the Austrian statesman, after having recently conferred with the French, that will cement the good relations between the Germanic and the Hellenic nations; nor is the answer given to that statesman by Lord Stanley in accord with the old English policy, which, but for our German rulers' counteraction, would by this time have solved the Oriental Question. Lord Stanley's principle of non-interference amounts to an interference the most factious in favour of the Turks, whose position, although fraught with difficulties rendering it ultimately untenable, the English statesman endeavours to save.

Mutatis mutandis, such a policy might be the right one; but to prevent the development of the Hellenic element while Russia is protecting the Slaves, is a plan either transcending our conception or extremely mistaken.

No plan can be more obvious and simple than that of solving the Oriental Question by restoring Hellenism to its dominions. What hinders its adoption? Our ill-success? This is only a pretext, it being certain that we have achieved wonders, considering how inconveniently collocated and how misruled we have been through the mistakes of the stranger; and that both Dr. Whewell is wrong in thinking that good laws can always produce good morals, and Horace in saying, "*Quid leges sine moribus?*" for good morals presuppose not only good laws, but an undepraved people also, if placed in good circumstances. Our imperfect development, therefore, being attributable, not to depravity, which fortunately does not exist, but to the absence of good laws and good circumstances, which both the stranger is the cause of, and not we: something else must hinder the adoption of that policy. And what else but the Latin and Germanic aspirations to supersede Turkey?

Did these not exist, Turcophilism would never have existed. They *must*, however, be given up, else they will entail upon us all incalculable misery; and as the leaders of those nations will fan them to earn popularity, it is the English statesman's duty to tell his continental colleagues that no policy could be better calculated to enhance the Russian views than that adopted by Austria and France, as regards us, from 1833 to 1862, to which they seem inclined to cling even now, and which, by attributing

to us all the spite shown against the English on all occasions by the Court and the French and German diplomatists, succeeded in estranging the sympathies of a great part of this nation from us, and in restoring the Turks into favour with the Government of this country at least, if not with the country itself, and that amends must be made without delay if they wish to oppose successfully Russian preponderance in Europe.

Let the right policy be sincerely adopted by the English, Germans, and Latins; let them acknowledge our right to supersede Turkey in Europe and on the Ægean, and in the meantime correct our boundaries, and allow us to correct our constitution, and they may be sure that in ten years Greece will be as happy, and prosperous, and civilized a country as any in the world, and grateful, true, and useful to her sincere friends and benefactors.

This is a task incumbent on none but the English statesman, who has both the right and the might of being listened to, and who is bound to protect British interests, which may be saved *only* through the aggrandisement of the Greek.

Should he, however, from want of volition or foresight, pursue a different course, our detractors will protect their country's interests better by treating us indifferently, if they have no kindness to spare, than by inveighing against us, who, charitably weighing the bad and the good qualities of our equals, honour and love those in whom the good preponderate; and, believing that such is the apportionment of good and bad qualities among the English people, manifested our belief by exclaiming—

"Non Angli, sed Angeli!"

May our detractors, by prevailing over their compatriots, never elicit a deception, forcing us to adopt the recantation—

"Non Angeli, sed Angli!"

APPENDIX.

—o—

(1.) No nation is provided with better materials and more skilled mariners, or placed in better circumstances than the English nation is as regards ship-building: and yet it was given to the Americans to build the swiftest clipper and yacht, and the strongest man-of-war. English plasticity has brought forth only a new *ptolemais*, or monster galley, equally unserviceable as it is huge.

No nation is half as much bound as the English is to be prepared for both defensive and offensive warfare, and none have the means necessary to perfect both the art of war and the war implements as much as the English: and yet, the best arms and the best tactics are the product of American science, and are now being universally adopted, notwithstanding the stigma of impracticability cast on those arms by the War-Office of this country; and the Duke of Wellington's aversion for those tactics, which the Prussian general had to a certain extent invented and unsuccessfully applied.

All nations put together cannot count as many travellers as are those whom this country sends out in search of physical, moral, and political knowledge: and yet it was destined that a continental should knit English materials into a *cosmos*.

No country is as embellished as this is with buildings of almost every age and every nation: and yet, when the moment came to produce a new one embracing all and copying none, but the ideal which the felicitous combination of all may realize, another *land-ptolemais* has been erected, in the shape of a House of Parliament, too bulky and cumbrous in shape to be seen from the vicinity: too diminutive and intricately finical in ornamentation to be seized and appreciated from a distance: and too proximately attached to a known type—but not the finest—to be interesting.

No people can boast of being familiarly acquainted with musical phrases of a greater variety, beauty, and originality than those that may be found in the anthems, melodies, songs, dances, glees, quick-steps, and dirges of this country: and yet, while the foreigner reaps heaps of laurel by the mere studding of his agreeable but trifling medley with the Irish rose, the Englishman, that ought to knit all those phrases into an operatic *ensemble*, is still unborn, if not still-born. Judging from the young American songstress, Miss Kellogg's, marvellous *art* in operatic singing, it may be inferred that an American Bellini will soon purify the gems contained in the English musical phraseology, and an American Rossini will blend them into a new and the most harmonious of musical languages.

This country is both the cradle and the platform of the richest and simplest of languages, which, according to Mr. Disraeli's very true remark, none, wishing to write his own well, should ignore: and yet, the Englishman will not only listen to the numbered and unnumbered diction of the American's tales with peculiar delight, but also cede the standard to the American's Dictionary and Grammar, and sing his *Sweet Home's* song through the American's lips.

Does not all this clearly prove that commercial expansiveness does not imply commensurate and real progress in the arts and sciences?

(2.) The English nation is on the point of affiliating every continental institution, although hardly one of them is correct.

Universal suffrage seems to be one of the desiderata, and it is an inevitable one: why? Because the question of *caste* and *non-caste*, which keeps mankind divided ever since world is world, has not found in this country a reasonable and scientific solution, it being equally unsatisfactory to reason that birth should be the only title to sovereignty (we mean national and not regal), as it is that the latter should be divided in equal shares among all males of age, for both high birth and low afford examples of incapacity to acquire the knowledge of handling the interests of state. A physical measure is, therefore, necessary to fix that unfitness, which ought not to be incompatible with sheer manipulation, as is insanity and idiocy itself. Had the wise of this nation, bent as they are on collaboration, applied natural sciences to statesmanship also, that measure, *now lying before us*, would have been long ago invented, in the shape of a *noometre*,* and by this time so improved as to cause an orderly unsettlement in society promising the most longevous stability and rapid progress.

Now, lacking that measure as well as the practical method that was made use of in Ancient Greece for the testing of genius, this nation will, as all others, decay before its time, and mainly on account of the intestine contentions that will arise as to how far the national sovereignty must extend.

Codification or non-codification is another obstinately controverted subject: why? Because both systems are wrong; the former, for allowing the legislative to trespass on the area of the judiciary, by assuming to fix

* A *noometre* should not be an inward or subjective rule based on phrenological or physiognomical data, which form no criterion, or a very vague one, regarding the mental capacities of each individual; it ought to be objective or outward, independent of the philosopher's conclusions, and self-sufficient to indicate the *quality* and *quantity* of each individual's mental capacities in a manner clearly perceptible to every person not incapacitated through the same measure after its having been admitted by science. But so long as Reason and Will and Imagination are mistaken to be elementary faculties, whereas they are the result of the operation of *Life*, *Sense*, and *Memory*—the only simple faculties we have—noology will be as *improgressive* as chemistry was when earth, air, water, and fire were deemed elementary. When it will be clear enough as to admit of no controversy that Reason is nothing but the prevalence of Memory in its conflict with our senses; and Will, an advanced stage of Reason denoting the removal of all hindrance arising against the incessant impulses of Life from the notion we have that each impression is attended with agreeable and disagreeable consequences; and Imagination, the result of a healthy Life and tenacious Memory, with slightly imperfect senses; and Judgment, the result of faithful senses and an imperfectly healthy Life and an untenuous Memory; and Genius, the result of perfect senses, a most healthy Life, and a most tenacious Memory; and Sophistry, the result of a most healthy Life and a most tenacious Memory, but of imperfect senses: then our attention will be drawn on the necessity of finding a measure for the discerning of him who is endowed with a perfect sensitiveness, which we shall call *orthæsthesy* (*ὀρθαισθησις*) from him who is not; after which, the *noometre* is at hand, the degree of Memory and Life being easily discovered.

When such a measure will be known and applied, we, far from dreading to avow that "there is no such thing as spontaneousness in nature"—not even in Professor Tyndall while desecrating this truth, which he, however, has not proved (*vide* the Duke of Argyll's "Reign of Law," p. 7)—shall hail the notion as wholesome, for the lead in morals and politics will no longer be contested, as it now is, between the *wise* and the *sophist*, but will exclusively belong to the former, who, possessed, as he will then be, of an incontestable title, will authoritatively point out to us that moral and physical *Perfection* is the mission allotted to us by our Maker for ends escaping the sight of no orthæsthetic observer; and that by adapting our morals to the fulfilment of that mission we shall earn the *immediate* reward of preserving and enhancing our orthæsthesy, which will then be the only source of both political sovereignty and every earthly and celestial good: *orthæsthesy* being the *only* parent of monogamous wedlock and fixed property—the stamina of society, and generators of that terrestrial happiness, whose absence seldom saves the unhappy from both temporal and eternal perdition.

as many rules as there are cases—which the Italian adage, “*Tanti casi quanti nasi*,” deems innumerable,—and to guide the judge in the very process of interpretation; the latter, for allowing the judiciary to trespass on the area of the legislative by having it in its power to alter the rule of justice to a degree causing a conflict between statutes and judicial precedents. No doubt, between the two, the latter is the least tainted with imperfection: the judiciary being the only safe crucible through which real rights and wrongs may be discerned from apparent; but the right principle would be, bearing in mind that the question about codification or non-codification is inseparably connected with that of self-government or despotism, to subject the legislative to the experience of the judiciary, and the latter to the sanction of the former; and enact a code of principles obliging the executive to employ the most eminent jurists, and not of details permitting that power to entrust justice to either unqualified tironism or barren experience.

Unfortunately this country, merged as it is in the belief that the legislative is the only source of every weal or every woe, is fast effacing tradition to supplant it by none save fastidious criticism, whose fitful impulses only a judiciary, still more elevated than the existing, might counteract. But the continental, and even transatlantic—the far superior—system of codification will divulge the persuasion that anybody holding the simple measure to be found in the four corners of each article may easily mete out justice: after which the degradation of the judiciary will only be a question of time.

Decimal or non-decimal system is another source of division of opinions and discussion: why? Because both are wrong; the former, for assuming to dragoon the human mind towards the adoption of the arithmetical measure in geometrical quantities; the latter, for throwing great obstacles in the way of accountants and computation. Had this question ever been scientifically treated, it would have been easy to see that this discord arises from the inappropriate position of the arithmetical termini which man, while in the stage of ante-grammatical inventiveness, fixed at *ten* (10) from the number of his fingers; that it is not given to us to conceive the relation between part and parcel, or unit and fraction, but after having halved, or at most tertiated a unit or the fraction arising from such a process; that we, therefore, no more can fancy what the tenth part of a loaf of bread is than count the sands of the desert; that the French lawgiver himself had to resort to the halving and quartering of the earth, and not to a decimation, in order to find a fraction bearing a self-evident relation to a known unit—the earth—and forming the monad of the partly felicitous, and partly not, decimal system; and that by transposing the present arithmetical terminus on number eight (8), which after the transposition and the suppression of two numbers should be called *ten*, the now clashing systems would then chime into perfect harmony: the quarter of the earth, once more halved, would be the tenth part of our planet: and each fraction thereof, howsoever infinitesimal it might be, would not only bear a direct and imaginable relation to our orbit, but also retain a monadic form allowing the decimal system to pervade all our operations without once altering the process, which by the existing system is altered the moment we wish to find the fourth part of ten—i. e., $2\frac{1}{2}$: and altered again when we halve this fraction to $1\frac{1}{4}$: and perplexingly altered when we halve even this to $\frac{1}{2}$: and inconceivably altered when we attempt to divide this also.

Nations of minor importance in the world corrected many mistakes regarding the division of time: why should not England, the representative of modern civilization, correct that which most requires correction, and which uncorrected injures mankind in every point of view: the division of time also not excepted? Because her children in general,

wholly absorbed as they are in the practices of universal *exchange*, consider art and science subordinate to commerce, and allow the transatlantic and continental peoples to take the lead as regards superior art, which, successful only in the land of Columbus, recognizes the *exchange* to be a means indispensably necessary to its development and diffusion, but denies to it the right of guiding the impulses of mankind by obtaining preponderance in the state, and thus sanctioning what is apparently and immediately profitable, but virtually and ultimately noxious.

Hence, we see this country more willing than able to protect its interests abroad, for commerce enjoins that there should be no hostilities so long as the exchange is not actually troubled; and that they should be furiously adopted and doggedly pursued as soon as such a trouble is caused. A war was, therefore, waged against the Chinese for declining free-trade; and another was waged against the Russians for directly annoying the Turks, and thus preventing them from paying the interest of their debt to this country; but no war is being meditated against the Russians for undermining the whole existence of Turkey through aid daily granted to the Slaves. On the contrary, a cruel war is now being waged against us Greeks for exercising our right, which is condemned merely because the means employed in that practice is unpalatable to commerce, no matter that civilization and commerce itself would gain by the realization of our right; and that, as no exuberant germination can be obtained in nature, excepting where the tempest has done away with that part of vegetation which, although dead, still clings to the soil: in a like manner no young nation can supplant the old without using that violence, which states also, besides nations, practise and legalize, now through mythical allegations, now through positive enactments, and now through triumphant *facts*.

Once more I apologize for these digressions; but in so doing, I must avow I found it necessary to show our detractors that they ought to be more moderate in their exigencies towards us, since England itself—the modern Athens of the world—is, through the prevalence of noxious elements, wilfully pursuing the wrong course, and omitting achievements which critical science had allotted to the English people to consummate.

(3.) It has been proved that a *mongrel* constitution legalizing the simultaneous action of both *civil* and *military* powers, without declaring the latter *subordinate* to the former, and rendering it *unencroaching*: such a constitution cannot fail to be a curse to any community, instead of being a blessing. But a constitution that is both mongrel and tainted with a communal system subservient to the executive, and, therefore, representing not the people, but the central authority: such a constitution is a *galimatias* too rueful to cause indignation. At last the *Times'* own correspondent through his last report, seems to wake from a lethargy which ought to have been broken earlier than now, when the bustle of a parliamentary discussion on that subject cannot fail to attach to his report only a factious importance.

The legislative should consist of two bodies—one of Senators, and the other of Deputies—both, however, elective for four or five years as regards the latter, and double that time as regards the former. Provinces not numbering 25,000 souls should be annexed to the neighbouring one; and not more than two Deputies and one Senator should be elected from each province.

The responsibility of ministers should be not only admitted, but also treated of fully by the fundamental law: else neither jurisdiction nor combinations will ever be determined by Parliament; and so long as this is lacking, all administrative responsibility will weigh on our King, whom it is both impolitic and unfair to expose to the odium of malcontents, He being

the only unexceptionable power of our nation, and as just, kind, and high-minded a sovereign as any existing upon earth.

A new judicial organization ought to be framed, admitting (1) as many Magistrates of Peace as there would be communes (of 5000 souls each); (2) two Judges, and a Fiscal Advocate for each province, in which a Court of Primary Jurisdiction should be established; (3) a Court of Appeals, with three Judges and a Fiscal Advocate-General in each district, and (4) the Supreme Court or Areopagus, with three Sections and fifteen Judges, and three Supreme Fiscal Advocates.

Magistrates of Peace and their Secretaries, as well as all Judges and their Secretaries and Under-Secretaries should be at least Bachelors of Law, though not in society, and ought to be appointed as well as the Fiscal Advocates for a whole parliamentary period. Their salary ought to be at least doubled, and in the capital and in Syra at least trebled. On the other hand, Judges, who will shortly hold office for life, ought to be rendered liable to be dismissed, not only by a judicial sentence, but also by a parliamentary resolution approved of by the king. Sentences should be concise and clear, containing only the names of litigants and their lawyers; the subject of litigation; the pith of the proofs adduced; the law to be applied, and the decision. This sentence ought to be written in an original book, and delivered before the end of the sitting, and then written again in a copy-book that the original might be sent to the public archives yearly, to be preserved most carefully and safely. It is high time that polygraphy and dilatoriness—the sources of both wilful and unwilful error, and of waste of time—should be done away with at the example of ancient Greece and modern England and America, the only nations possessed of a high judiciary and the best officials. The primary jurisdiction should be confided to *one* Judge.

A very grave question arises whether the administrative or the communal police is necessary to render self-government successful.

When the judiciary is pre-eminent, and extends its jurisdiction over the organs of the executive, it would seem immaterial whom the police should be dependent on: and yet the practice, both in this country, and to some extent in the United States of America also, showed that safety of both person and property cannot be fully attained by a communal police, and that the administrative cannot be employed to stifle or writhe the people's will in the elections. After the example, therefore, set by so eminent a man as Sir Robert Peel was, we might adopt the administrative police, but only after having re-organized the judiciary, and emancipated the communal power.

With 3000 policemen, organized as the Ionians were under British protection, the present state would be easily governed, as far as the existing boundaries permit it.

Not more than 3000 soldiers should be contained in our model army, and they themselves—who ought to be trained as Artillerymen and Engineers—should be also employed as much as possible in public works. But a large number of officers and subalterns should be maintained and scattered throughout the state to organize the national guard, which alone ought to be compulsory, as being compatible with each citizen's art, trade, or profession. The conscription laws ought to be abolished at once. The same principle should be admitted in every point of view as regards our navy. A well organized and ever increasing national steam navigation company should be the national guard by sea—the vehicle of national traffic in time of peace, and the strongest national weapon in time of war.

The administration should be greatly simplified by adopting the principle of unpaid Governors, and Vice-Governors, with limited authority, or of suppressing the Vice-Governors or Eparchs, and paying well the

Nomarchs. After the abolition of all administrative jurisdictions, and of the conscription laws: after the emancipation of the communes, and after the adoption of a new system of taxation: four Administrative Inspectors-General would easily supplant all the Nomarchs and Eparchs of the state.

A new system of taxation ought to abrogate as soon as possible the present one, which, by limiting the maximum of incomes, by taxing the produce of both productive and unproductive soil equally, and by taxing heavily, or at all, the articles of indispensable consumption, becomes unjust, oppressive to the poor, and favourable to the wealthy.

The least acquaintance with Greece will persuade the economist that direct taxation is not only just, but also practicable in Greece, where not more than a thousand families escape the cognizance of the collectors of taxes for want of landed property, and where it is easy to find out how great the property of each citizen is.

Direct taxation should be based (1) on presumptive comforts, beginning from all property amounting to more than Dr. 100; * (2) on real comforts, beginning from the end of presumptive—viz., Dr. 20,000 or 30,000, or more, according to circumstances; and (3) on redundant comforts or savings, beginning from the end of real comforts—viz., from Drs. 100,000, or more, according to circumstances. I need not say that the first category embraces the existing common taxes; the second, the income-tax; and the third, forms an application by analogy of the inheritance and donation-tax on the capitalization of the savings of an income. The adoption of direct taxation should not entirely abolish the custom-duties for the first year or *biennium*; it should reduce them to one-half of what they now are. But the sooner they are abolished the better, for their abolition is a measure as life-giving and indispensable as any.

Allowing that Drs. 20 might be raised from each soul yearly, there would be an account of 30,000,000 Drs. from the first category, for the population exceeds 1,500,000 by far. The second category would yield 3,500,000 at least; and the third 1,500,000, which, added to the 5,000,000 arising from Government property, would form a revenue of Drs. 40,000,000, without calculating the tax on stamps, which, when justly apportioned, by exacting, not ten shillings on £1000 as we do, but only one shilling as it is done here: not ten to twenty shillings for each judicial decision indiscriminately—no matter that the litigated object is now worth £1 10s., now £1,000,000—but a proportionate amount, would bring it to the public coffers at least Dr. 4,000,000, which would cover the two-thirds of the expenditure necessary for a high judiciary, without which Greece will never be happy and prosperous.

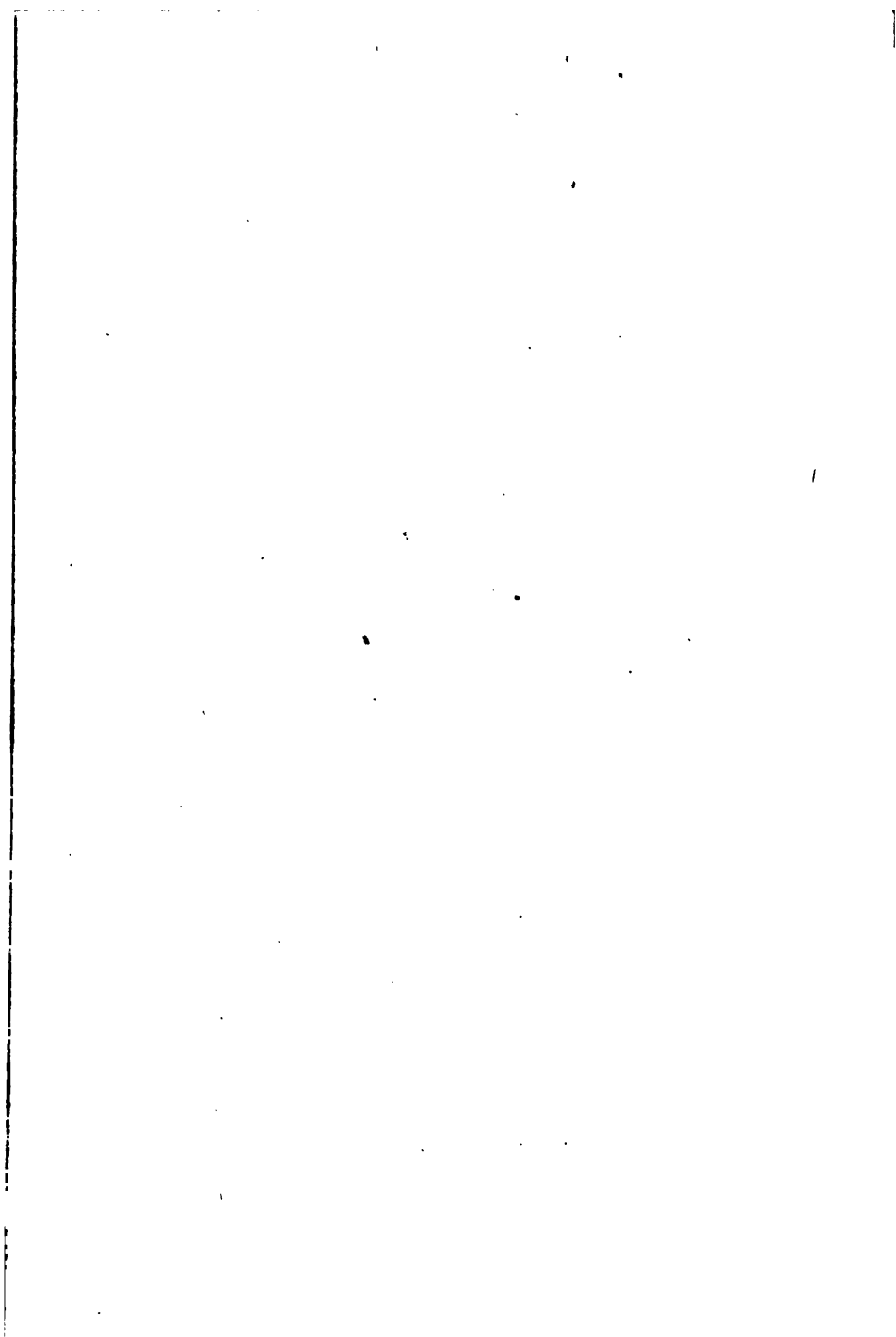
It would be out of place to dwell here on the subject of taxation; suffice it to say that, after allowing 4,000,000 Drs. for the national steam navigation company, and 3,000,000 Drs. for the national guard, and 3,000,000 Drs. for the extinction of debts, and after doubling the pay of all officials, both civil and military, there would, in a civil system of government, be a surplus of at least 8,000,000 to be wholly devoted to public works. But no statesmanship, or device, or contrivance, or wisdom can be of any use without a revision and correction of our boundaries implying the annexation of Crete.

* Labour, and the abolition of every other tax, form the basis of this presumption.

THE END.

ERRATA CORRIGE.

- Page 35, line 1, for *degrees* read *decrees*.
" 45, " 30, " *east* read *west*.
" 47, " 3, " *case* read *case*.
" 47, " 11, " *commercial* read *communal*.
" 52, " 3, " *Xs Zeie . . . πόδας σου* read *Zeie . . . πόδας σου*.
" 59, " 23, " *congratulated* read *congratulate*.
" 59, " 25, " *ῥμοια* read *ῥμοια*.
" 63, " 25, " *have bordered* read *still border*.
" 64, " 7, " *restoration* read *restoration*.
" 64, " 20, " *sovereign* * read *sovereign*.

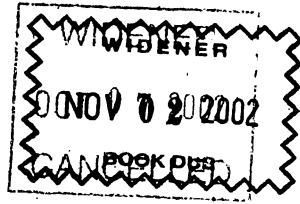






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